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ROYAL SUCCESSION IN ANCIENT CAMBODIA

BY

ADHIR CHAKRAVARTI

SIR WILLIAM JONES
MDCCXLVI-MDCCXCIV

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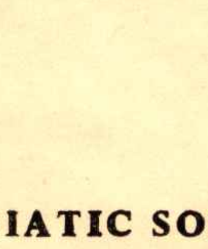
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TO THE MEMORY

OF

MY TEACHER

DR NIHARRANJAN RAY

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FOREWORD

Scholars like Nirmal Kumar Bose and Elizabeth Bacon pointed out how, mainly on the basis of plotting the distribution of some basic material traits of peasant cultures of Asia, Indian sub-continent may be conceived as the meeting ground of South West Asian Culture Area in North-West India and South East Asian Culture Area in in Southern, Eastern and North-Eastern India. The above two ancient and persistent major culture zones of India, from pre-historic Neolithic Period, are roughly coterminous with wheat and barley vis-à-vis the rice zones. In all probability the early rice-culture complex moved into north-eastern, eastern and southern part of India from South China and South East Asia. There was a comparable movement of the people of the Austro-Asiatic sub-family of languages, including the Mon-Khmer languages from South China and South East Asia to the north-eastern, eastern, central and southern part of the Indian sub-continent and forming a continuous stretch of related ethnic cultures in the Pre-Aryan period.

At a later period of Indian history, after the Brāhmaṇic and Buddhist urban and state-based centres of civilization developed in India, we observe a reverse flow of cultural influence, not on the basis of steady migration of people, but through the establishment of 'Indianized states' in different countries of South East Asia. These developments have been described by European and some Indian scholars as "Indian Colonies in Far East", Further India", "Greater India" and so on.

In an earlier publication, *The Sdok Kak Thoṃ Inscription : A Study in Indo-Khmèr Civilization* (1978), the author of the present volume brought into relief the fact that although Indian contact had substantial influence on the character of polity and civilization in ancient Cambodia, a proper understanding of the nature and process of development of Cambodian civilization and states can only be based on adequate understanding of endogenous substratum of Khmer culture.

In the present volume, *Royal Succession in Ancient Cambodia*, Prof. Adhir Chakravarti carries forward his earlier thesis of naturalization of 'stimulus diffusion' of ancient Indian ideas of polity and religion on the home ground of Cambodian culture. He makes a careful analysis of the modes of succession of all the kings of Cambodia from the earliest recorded times to the middle of the 14th century A.D. He comes to the conclusion that the variations in the principle of succesion from patriliny to matriliny, and sometimes, in the reverse order, indicates that although the institution of monarchy in ancient Cambodia was essentially of Indian origin, in the matter of succession the Indian patrilineal principle could not make a steady headway over the indigenous custom of matrilineal succession prevalent among the Khmer people Thus even in the cardinal rôle of kingship in a situation of acculturative transformation, the Indian tradition had often to accommodate the endogenous tradition of matrilineal social organization.

I hope that this carefully documented and analyzed study of the nature of royal succession in Cambodia will be read with interest by historians and anthropologists who are concerned with a proper understanding of the culture-history of South Asian polities and civilization in the context of their contacts with the agents and the stimuli of Indian Civilization.

I expect this pioneering study will encourage other Indian scholars to explore the nature and evolution of polities and civilizations in South East Asia *primarily* in terms of endogenous evolutionary processes and responses to external acculturative influence of Indianization of many of the early states.

Calcutta
23-6-82

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

It is admitted on all hands that in the formation and development of the classical civilizations, the countries of South East Asia, both of the main land and of the archipelago, were greatly influenced by India, but the unanimity ends when it comes to the question of locating the areas as also the extent and profundity of borrowing from India. It has sometimes been asserted that the entire region now called South East Asia forms one geographical entity which may be better expressed as Monsoon Asia and that there is a common Austro-Asiatic cultural heritage of this region which goes back to prehistoric times and transcends all regional differences. According to this school of thought, in the historical period the people of South East Asia readily accepted from India only those elements of culture which were not all too alien to their indigenous institutions, beliefs and customs. It is in this background that the problem of royal succession in ancient Cambodia is presented. Long ago Coedès ably pointed out what distinguishes the Khmer people from their mountain neighbours viz. their familiarity with the institution of monarchy which is an importation from India. Though matrilineal succession was not unknown in India for descent and devolution of inheritance and property, true to the Dharmaśāstra prescriptions succession to the throne was determined in India according to the patrilineal principle. With the introduction of the institution of monarchy in Cambodia where society was preeminently matrilineal, the problem arose as to which of the principles of succession, patrilineal or matrilineal, should prevail for the royalty. In the present study an attempt has been made to show that this problem was not resolved till the last days of real Indian presence in Cambodia i e., upto the middle of the 14th century A D.

This study assumes that the idea of legitimacy for royal succession was known to the ancient Khmers. But for the Pre-Aṅkorian times at least, this has been challenged by O. W. Wolters who thinks that during this period each individual Khmer king was considered Śiva immanent and the attitude of his subjects towards him was one of Śivaite devotionalism. He further holds that before being accepted as Śiva, one had to give evidence of his superhuman prowess and capability (Khmer 'Hinduism etc', *Early South East Asia*, p. 432 ff) To accept the view would mean that on the death of a king the question of succession was decided really by force amongst the more ambitious of the political adventurers. Professor, Wolters has not adduced any concrete evidence in support of his theory. The study now presented would show that very many of the ancient Khmer kings were political adventurers pure and simple but, nevertheless, the fact remains that after successful seizure of power they also were constrained to establish their claim to the throne by taking recourse to either of the principles of succession, patrilineal or matrilineal, which incidentally shows that the idea of legitimacy was really considered important.

There are some evident printing mistakes and inexactitudes due to non-availability of special accented types, which are regretted. Finally, It is my pleasant duty to thank all those who helped me in the preparation of the present monograph. First of all, I should like to express my deep gratitude to Dr Surajit Sinha, formerly Director, Anthropological Survey of India & Vice-Chancellor Visva-Bharati University for kindly writing the Foreword. My heartiest thanks are also due to Dr Amalendu De, General Secretary of the Asiatic Society for kindly accepting the present study for publication in the Monograph Series of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta ; Shri Ranabir Chakravarti, Lecturer in Ancient Indian History & Archaeology, Visva-Bharati University and Sm. Ansua Sengupta for the valuable service they rendered in the preparation of the Index ; Shri S. K. Seal of the Pressagents Private Limited who has taken all the pains to print the work.

Calcutta,
June 26 1982

ADHIR CHAKRAVARTI

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INTRODUCTION

Some study has been made in recent times in the pattern of familial succession in ancient Cambodia. The problem hinges on the question whether ancient Khmèr society was patrilineal or matrilineal. It is a well-known fact that ancient Cambodia received a good deal of civilizing elements from India and the socio-political pattern of ancient Khmèr society was profoundly influenced by Indian ideas and ideals. Nevertheless, old indigenous ideas and institutions did not die out but continued to co-exist. Indeed the contact and conflict of the two opposing principles and systems of society and administration led ultimately to the emergence of a new type of culture containing elements of both in the classic Aṅkorian period but the fusion in any sphere was far from complete. Instead, all through the period of living Indian presence in Cambodia, there prevailed some uneasiness in the socio-political structure of the country. This inherent tension from which the ancient Khmèr society suffered is all too evident in so far as the laws of succession are concerned. An analysis of such laws prevailing among the primitive tribes living in and around Cambodia shows that these are essentially matrilineal. To what extent such was the social reality for Cambodia in pre-Indian times is anybody's guess. However, there are numerous references to reckoning of descent in the maternal line in the Cambodian inscriptions which for the purpose use such expressions as *mātṛvaṃśa, jā* (or *toy*) *mātṛpakṣa, mātṛ-vaṃśodbhava, mātranvaya* etc[1]. In an earlier study we have endeavoured to examine the extent of prevalence and the mode of functioning of the matrilineal principle in the determination of descent and inheritance of rank, status and charge among sacerdotal and non-royal secular communities and classes of ancient Cambodia[2].

With regard to sacerdotal families the incidence of *mātṛvaṃśa* has sometimes been explained as due to the vow of celibacy taken by maternal uncles who could thus transmit their heritage to their sister's son (*svasrīya/bhāgineya*) or son of the daughter of the sister (*bhaginī-sutā-sūnu/cau toy mātṛpakṣa*). This has been stated particularly in respect of the priestly family of Śivakaivalya. Thus, Barth in his review of E. Aymonier's *Le Cambodge* observes : "......et si la succession se faisait ainsi, c'est qu'ils n'avaient eux-mêmes pas d' enfants, qu'ils étaient des religieux ayant fait voeu de célibat......"[3]. This view has been upheld by Coedès and Dupont who in the introduction to their edition of the Sdok Kak Thoṃ inscription state : "Les relations généalogiques unissant les divers titulaires de la charge (d'assurer le culte du Devarāja) sont indiquées par le texte sanskrit qui précise plusieurs fois qu'il s'agit d'une parenté en ligne maternelle (*svasrīya, bhaginī-sutā-sūnu*). On peut donc tenir pour acquis que le titulaire de la charge faisait voeu de célibat et la transmettait à sa déscendance collatérale maternelle"[4]. So far as the sacerdotal families are concerned Coedès has later made a sweeping generalization when he states that such inheritance or rather succession of charge from the maternal uncle to the nephew was obligatory since the uncle was of necessity a celibate : "un neveu succède obligatoirement á un oncle maternel célibataire"[5]. In this connexion in support of their contention almost every writer has referred to the case of Sadāśiva of the family of Śivakaivalya who is stated to have been asked by Sūryavarman I to abandon the life of *religieux* and was then given in marriage with the younger sister of the chief queen Vīralakṣmī[6]. But Finot has pointed out that even after his defrocking and marriage, Sadāśiva continued to exercise all the functions of the head of his family, including the worship of the Devarāja[7]. It would thus be apparent that neither the charge of officiating to the cult of the Devarāja nor its transmission in the collateral matrilineal line had anything to do with the assumed celibacy of the priests of the Devarāja[8]. Finot further observes that genealogies of various priestly families are often given in the maternal line. Hence the practice cannot be regarded merely as a family custom (*kulācāra*) of Śivakaivalaya and his collateral maternal descendants. Nor should it be assumed that all the male members of these families observed celibacy. Finot thinks that tracing descent and transmission of sacerdotal charges matrilineally should be considered an integral part of the civil law of ancient Cambodia[9]. Finot, however, modifies his position later when he says that the principle of succession in the female line was not applicable to royal succession[10]. This is an extreme position. The diametrically opposite view that royal succession was determined exclusively in deference to matrilineal principle has been upheld by Mme Eve. Porée-Maspero who believes that the ancient Cambodian rulers belonged to two races viz. lunar and solar. The rulers of the lunar race held their position by virtue of the original right of Nāgī Somā, while those of the solar race were the successors to the *apsaras* Merā[11]. With regard to her method and thesis Coedès has preferred a threefold objection. First, she has not always critically checked her sources. Secondly, she has imagined the existence of the two mythical races of the Sun and of the Moon even for such an early period as that of Fou-nan while the fact is that before the 10th cetury A.D. there is no epigraphic reference to the solar dynasty allegedly represented by the descendants of the couple

Kambu and Merā. Thirdly, she has mentioned only those examples which are favourable to her thesis, thereby indulging in a sort of extrapolation[12]. It may also be pointed out that Mme Porée-Maspero has not indicated how Nāgī Somā or the *apsaras* Merā could simultaneously have any original proprietary right over the whole of Kambuja understood in the sense of Aṅkorian Cambodia. As a matter of fact, there is nothing to suggest that these mythical beings exercised concurrent rights in this regard. Further, it may be stated that neither the Fou-nanese rulers claiming a lunar origin and descent from the couple Somā-Kauṇḍinya nor the earliest rulers of 'original' Kambuja (Tchen-la of the Chinese and middle Mekong valley in Bassak region) for whom descent from the solar race of Kambu-Merā has been claimed in a much later inscription[13] actually ruled over the entire territory of Aṅkorian Cambodia. If these later confabulations be given credence, it transpires that according to the system of Mme Porée-Maspero, Nāgī Somā and the *apsaras* Merā could bequeath to their progeny the right over Fou-nan and the original Kambuja country respectively but surely not over the whole of the country embracing Aṅkorian Cambodia[14]. Thus a question of method poses itself. In the first place, according to Mme Porée-Maspero, Bhavavarman I who was "somehow a grand-son" ("quoique petit-fils") of the Fou-nanese king Rudravarman married a daughter, Kambujarāja-lakṣmī of the matrilineal family of a king of the solar race of Kambu-Merā called Śreṣṭhavarman of Śreṣṭhapura. Kambujarāja-lakṣmī thus inherited the right vested in Merā. It is through her that Bhavavarman I could ascend the throne of Kambuja[15]. From the above analysis it becomes clear that one and the same person could not belong to both the races simultaneously or benefit from the heritages belonging to both. But we know that Bhavavarman I and his immediate successors Mahendravarman-Citrasena and Īśānavarman I ruled over the territories of both Tchen-la/Kambuja and the Fou-nan. Again Rājendravarman (A.D. 944-968) claimed descent from both Kambu-Merā and Kauṇḍinya-Somā[16].

Secondly, there is also no gainsaying that such and such rulers were born in the lunar dynasty of Somā but by virtue of their marriage belonged to the solar dynasty or *vice versa*, since all these rulers continued to live in the same place both before and after their marriage and generally also ruled over the very same kingdom. To put it in other words, Nāgī Somā and the *apsaras* Merā are to be considered full proprietors of one and the same territory alternatively which is, however, absurd. As has already been stated above, Coedès has pointed out that the dualistic system of Cambodian rulers being divided into solar and lunar dynasties is borrowed from Indian Purāṇic mythology[17]. If in India this twofold division of the royalty did not reflect the truth and be regarded as an outright myth, how could it be otherwise for Cambodia ? Mme Porée-Maspero herself has been obliged to admit that "the opposition between the lunar and solar dynasties does not correspond to any social event"[18]. It will thus be clear that the dualistic system as proposed by Mme Porée-Maspero for royal succession in ancient Combodia is full of contradictions and devoid of any basis in truth and, as such, is useless. But this is not to deny the importance of the rôle of women in the determination of royal succession in ancient Cambodia. The position of Coedès in this regard is not as stiff as Mme Porée-Maspero wants to make us believe. After a lengthy critique of her study entitled 'Nouvelle étude sur la Nāgī Somā', he concludes that with regard to royal succession in ancient Cambodia there are two possibilities :

First, as Mme Porée-Maspero would like it, succession took place in the female line following an indigenous custom, which was, however, less rigidly observed than in the sacerdotal families but in many cases kings succeeded in effecting a succession in the male line and had their sons accepted as their inheritors and successors[19]. The second possibility is that following the Indian custom, royal succession was effected in the male line but certain princes either in default of male inheritors of their predecessors or to justify the capture of power, effected with or without violence, took recourse to the indigenous custom and sought to connect themselves with their predecessors in the female line or married a princess of their families[20]. With regard to the second alternative suggested by Coedès, it may be stated that he believes that the indigenous Khmèr society in general was matrilineal in the ancient period. The problem, according to him arose only with regard to the priestly community and the royalty i.e. the two very small sectors of society which came under the impact of the civilizing elements from India most. He seems rather to be inclined to believe that these two sectors adopted the partilineal form of succession from the Indians. However, if among the priestly families succession to offices and, along with it, to property and dignity, passed in the female line, he explains this as due to a vow of celibacy undertaken by holders of priestly charges. But, if succession to throne takes place in the female line, he explains it as due to either lack of a lawful inheritor in the male line of the former king or seizure of power in an irregular manner by an adventurer. Thus to explain the same social phenomenon of succession in the female line among the priestly community and royalty, Coedès has taken recourse to two different explanations. It would be far simpler if we could accept the first alternative regarding royal succession proposed by Coedès and make a general statement to the effect that the matrilineal succession prevailed in all layers of ancient Khmèr society. But it may be observed that repercussions of the contact and conflict between the indigenous matrilineal system and the intruding patrilineal system of India made themselves felt all through the centuries of living Indian presence in Cambodia. From this point of view the question of royal succession assumes an altogether different dimension. In the course of the present study we propose to examine the nature of succession of all the kings of Cambodia from the earliest times down to the middle of the 14th century A.D. This would, it is hoped, also help us assess the extent of modification undergone by the institution of monarchy which was an Indian importation in ancient Cambodia.

NOTES

1. Cf. for example
   - (i) Vat Phu inscription, K. 876, Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge* (abb. I.C.), vol. V, p. 11.
   - (ii) Phnoṃ Pràḥ Vihār inscription, Barth and Bergaigne, *Inscriptions sanscrites de Campā et du Cambodge* (abb. I.S.C.C.), No. LXI, pp. 525-544.
   - (iii) Tà Keo inscription, *Bulletin de l' École francaise d' Extrême-Orient* (abb. B.E.F.E.O.), vol. XXV, pp. 297-304.
   - (iv) Pràsàt Kök Pô, door-pillar II, sts VI and VII, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXXVII, p. 389.
   - (v) Sdok Kak Thoṃ inscription. B.E.F.E.O., vol. XLIII, p. 56 ff.
   - (vi) Inscription of unknown origin, K. 968, I.C., vol. VII, pp. 150-51.
   - (vii) Coedès, Les deux inscriptions de Vat Thip-dei, *Mélanges d' Indianisme offerts par ses élèves à Sylvain Lévi*, p. 230.
   - (viii) Ban That inscription, *sarga* III, st. I, Finot, *Notes d' Épigraphie* (abb. N.E.), p. 210.
   - (ix) Pàlhàl inscription, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XIII, pt 6, p. 27 ; Majumdar, *Inscriptions af Kambujadeśa* (abb I.K.), No. 158, pp. 412-16.
   - (x) Pràsàt Càr inscription, I.C., vol. IV, p. 141-42.
   - (xi) Pràsàt Khnà (Mlu Prei) inscription, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XI, p. 400 ff ; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 304.
   - (xii) Kuk Slà Ket inscription, K. 522, I.C., vol. V, pp. 120-22.
2. Mother-Right in ancient Cambodia, *Social Scientist*, No. 42, pp. 20-40.
3. *Journal des Savants*, 1901, p. 449.
4. B E.F E.O., vol. XLIII, p. 66.
5. Les règles de la succession royale dans l' ancien Cambodge. *Bulletin de la Société d' Étude indochinoise*, vol. XXVI, No. 2, p. 121.
6. "*Steñn añ Sadāśiva ta kanmvay steñ añ Śivācāryya jā purohita nā kamrateñ jagat ta rāja gi ta pradhāna ta kule ti vraḥ pāda Nirvāṇapada pre phsik pi oy phavn kamrateñ añ Śrī-Vīralakṣmī jā agradevī*", 4.43-45, Sdok Kak Thoṃ inscription, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XLIII, p. 90 ; also see our *Sdok Kak Thoṃ Inscription*, Pt. II, p. 148.
7. B.E.F.E.O., vol. XV, No. 2, p. 53 ff=*Notes d' Épigraphie*, p. 277ff.
8. We, on our part, have tried to show that the Sdok Kak Thoṃ inscription does not refer to the defrocking of Sadāśiva but only mentions his transition from the life of student, *brahmacārin*, to that of the householder. See our work entitled *The Sdok Kak Thoṃ Inscription*, Part I, *A Study in Indo-Khmèr Civilizatian*, p. 268.
9. *Loc. cit.*
10. "Jamais la succession par la ligne féminine ne s'est appliquée à la dévolution de la couronne..........". Comote Rendu, *Recherches sur les Cambodgiens* of G. Groslier, B.E.F.E O., vol. XXII, p. 192.
11. Nouvelle étude sur la Nāgī Somā (abb. N.E.N.S.), *Journal Asiatique*, 1950, pp. 237-267 ; *Etudes sur les rites agraires des cambodgiens*, vol. I, pp. 178-179.
12. Les règles etc., *loc. cit.*, pp. 118-119.
13. The Baksei Caṃkroñ inscription of Rājendravaman II describes the rulers of Kambuja as the descendants of Śrutavarman : *Śrī Kamvu-bhūbharabhṛtaś=Śrutavarmmamūla* (st. XIII, I.C., vol. IV, p. 90). According to the Tā Prohm inscription of Jayavarman VII Śreṣṭhavarman, son of Śrutavarman has been eulogized as the sun in the sky that is the Kambu dynasty :

"*Śrīkambuvaṅśāmvarabhāskaro-yo=*
jāto=Jayādityapur-oday-ādrau
prābodhayat prāṇa-hṛd-ambujāni
tejonidhiś=śreṣṭhapur-ādhirājaḥ"—st. VI., I.K. No. 177, p. 461.

This would leave no doubt as to the solar origin of Śrutavarman and Śreṣṭhavarman and thereby about the race propagated by Kambu and Merā. However, the Baksei Caṃkroṅ inscription states that the dynasty united the two races, solar and the lunar ("*yasy=ārkka-soma-kulasaṅgatim=āpnuvantī satsantatis......*", st. XI, *loc. cit.*). How such union was effected will be seen later.

14. cf. Tà Prohm inscription, sts. VIII-IX, *loc. cit.*, 462:
"*jātā tadīye navagīta-kīrtti—*
candr-ollasan=mātṛkulāmvu-rāśau
rarāja lakṣmīr=iva vā satīnām=
agresarī Kambujarājalakṣmīḥ
bharttā bhuvo=bhavapure bhavavarmmadevo=
vibhrājamāna rucirañjita-maṇḍalo=yaḥ
pūrṇaḥ kalābhir=avanīndrakula-prasūteḥ
kartt=āmṛt-āṃśur=iva tāpaharaḥ prajanām".

15. N.E.N.S., *loc cit.*, pp. 255-256.

16. In the Baksei Caṃkroṅ inscription (I.C., vol. IV, p. 90) Rājendravarman II traces his origin to both Śrutavarman, father of Śreṣṭhavarman (st. XIII) and Śrī Rudravarman. As has been seen above in note 13, Śrutavarman would belong to the solar race. Śrī Rudravarman and his successors are described in the Baksei Caṃkroṅ inscription as born of the daughter of Kauṇḍinya and Somā (*Kauṇḍinya-somā-duhitṛ-prabhaveśāḥ*, st. XVI). In the Prè Rup inscription, the maternal family of Rājendravarman II has been traced back to Śrī Bālāditya described as a scion of the family of Kauṇḍinya and Somā (*Somā-Kauṇḍinya vaṅśvo*, st. VI). But nevertheless Rājendravarman II has taken some pain to emphasize that the rulers of Kambuja descended from Kambu and *apsaras* Merā as well. As a matter of fact, he wants us to believe that the lineage of Kambu united the solar and the lunar races :
"*svāyambhuvan=namata kamvum=udīrṇṇakīrttiṃ*
yasy=ārkka-soma-kula-saṅgatim=āpnuvantī"—st. XI, Baksei Caṃkroṅ inscription, *loc. cit.*

17. Les règles etc., *loc. cit.*, p. 128.

18. *Études sur les rites agraires des Cambodgiens*, vol. I, p. 188.

19. N.E.N.S., *Journal Asiatique*, 1950, p. 254.

20. Les règles etc., *loc. cit.*, p. 129.
It may be pointed out that after the conquest of Fou-nan by Kambuja or Tchen-la (as the Chinese annals tell us) or after the fusion of Fou-nan and Kambuja, to accept the system proposed by Mme Eve Porée-Maspero, only the tradition of Kauṇḍinya-Somā persisted. This is tantamount to say that Merā lost her ground to Somā. Besides, the tradition of Kambu-Merā is not very solidly established. It is first mentioned, as seen above in the epigraphy of the time of Rājendravarman II. Next in the Pàlhàl inscription of the time of Harṣavarman III mention is made of the erection of the image of one Ṛṣi Kambu by Śrī, a friend of the preceptor (*gurudeva*) of a king who might have been Rājendravarman II or his son Jayavarman V. It is thus possible that the legend of Kambu-Merā was officially adopted only in the 10th century A.D. by king

Rājendravarman II. Tracing genealogy through Kambu is next to be found in the inscriptions of Jayavarman VII (cf. Tà Prohm inscription, st. VII, I.K., No. 77, p. 461) and repeated in Práḥ Khan inscription (B.E.F.E.O., vol. XLI, pp. 271-272) and Pràsàt Cruñ inscription of Añkor Thoṃ (I.C., vol. IV, p. 210). The tradition of Kauṇḍinya-Somā was much more ancient and is also much more extended both in space and in time. The most ancient of these is the report of Kang T'ai. The original report is lost but passages from it are quoted and integrated in later Chinese texts. For the voluminous literature which has thus grown up see Wang-Gungwu, The Nan-hai-Trade, *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XXXI, pt. 2, p. 33, n. 10. Mention may be made also of the following inscriptions :

(i) Pràsàt Praṃ Loven inscription of Guṇavarman, st. VII : "*Yaḥ śrīmatā vijaya-vikrami-vikrameṇa Kauṇḍinya-vaṃśa-śaśinā vasudhādhipena jambāttā-bhojakapade nṛpasūnu*, Coedès, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXXI, p. 1.

(ii) Phnoṃ Práḥ Vihār inscription of Bhavavarman (K. 733, I.C., vol. I., 3) :
"*rājā śrī-bhavavarmm=eti bhavaty=adhikaśāsanaḥ*
somā-vaṃśyo=py=aridhvānta-pradhvaṃsana-divākaraḥ

(iii) Mi-Son inscription of Prakāśadharma-Vikrāntavarman of A.D. 657 :
"*(tat)ra sthāpitavāñ=chūlaṃ kauṇḍinyas=tad-dvijarṣabhaḥ*
Aśvatthāmno=dvijaśreṣṭhād=droṇa-putrād=avāpya tam/
—kul=āsid bhujagendrakanyā Someti sā vaṅśakarī pṛthivyām
=āśrityabhāve=tiviśeṣavastu yā mānus-āvāsam=uvāsa
Kauṇḍinya-nāmnā dvijapuṅgavena kāry-ārthapatnītvam=anāyi y=āpi
bhaviṣyato=rthasya nimittabhāve vidher=acintyaṃ khalu ceṣṭitaṃ hi
tad-avyavacchedi-viśuddha-vaṃśa-parampar-opātta-nṛpatvajanmā
adyāpī yo=laṅkṛtitām prajānam=āyāty=anindyaprasavair
—sts XVI-XIX, Finot, *Notes d'Épigraphie*, pp. 131-132=B.E.F.E.O., vol. IV, pp. 921-22.

CHAPTER I

THE AGE OF FOU-NAN

In the beginning of the Fou-nanese epoch, it was a dame who held power in her hands. According to the report of Kang T'ai,[1] the queen of the country called Lieu-ye (coconut leaves or leaves of the weeping willow)[2] confronted Hiuen-tien. This latter came from a distant country which may be India, Malay Peninsula or the Southern Islands[3]. According to Kang T'ai, Hiuen-tien shot an arrow which pierced the barge of the queen from end to end. The queen was overawed and submitted herself to Hiuen-tien who took her as his spouse. Coedès has noted that the story is nothing but a deformation of the legend of Kauṇḍinya and Somā[4]. In a later but definitely more faithful version of the legend recorded in the Mi-son inscription of A.D. 657 of Prakāśadharma-Vikrāntavarman I, king of Campā[5], Somā is represented as the daughter of the king of the Nāgas (*bhujag-endra-kanyā*). From the rather totemic character of the name of the queen as recorded by Kang T'ai, it would appear that the queen was in all likelihood chief of a semi-nomadic tribal group. Be that as it may, what was in reality forcible seizure of power by the political adventurer Kauṇḍinya has been made to appear in legend as inheritance by virtue of the right vested in his wife Somā. From the study of another legend, that of the prince Práḥ Thoṅ, son of King Ādityavaṃśa of Indraprastha who came to the country of Kok Thlok, a similar conclusion may be drawn. According to folklore, Práḥ Thoṅ defeated the Nāga king of the country and made himself king. Later he was enamoured of the Nāgī princess who took him to the nether world where her father had been ruling. The Nāga king gave his daughter in marriage with Práḥ Thoṅ, extended his domains by draining out the sea and built him a magnificent capital[6]. It would thus appear that Práḥ Thoṅ was made to appear as ruling not by virtue of conquest but through inheritance of the right of his wife, the Nāgī princess.

The original right of Somā to the throne of the Khmèr country and the derived right of Kauṇḍinya to the same have been acknowledged by later rulers when they recalled the couple Kauṇḍinya-Somā as their progenitors. The recognition of the fact that the country originally belonged to a woman, a Nāgī princess, may be discerned in the practice of ritual union between the Khmèr king and a snake every night on the Phimānákás as late as the 13th century A.D. as has been recorded by Tcheou Tà-Kouan[7]. It is, however, to be remembered that the institution of monarchy as we find in Cambodia in the historical period was essentially of Indian inspiration. It is thus quite in the fitness of things to expect that from the time of its introduction an acute contradiction in the manner of its functioning presented itself in ancient Cambodia. Kingship upholding the original right of Somā and following the indigenous custom, was obliged to transmit itself in the female line. On the other hand, kingship in India was patriarchal in nature and as such would tend to perpetuate itself from father to son. Unfortunately, we do not possess enough evidence to study how this drama of conflict between these opposing principles unfolded itself in ancient Cambodia.

According to Kang T'ai, Hiuen-tien transmitted his power to his descendants[8]. As recorded in the *Leang shu*, one of his descendants was Houen-p'an-houang[9]. Mme Porée-Maspero has accused the Chinese annalists of falsification of the sense of Khmèr history in favour of patrilineal succession after the practice prevalent in their own country[10] but in the two earliest references to the descendants of the couple Hiuen-tien-Lieou-ye the nature of relationship has not been clearly stated.

Houen-p' an-houang is said to have been succeeded by his second son named P'an-p'an. Here is the first categorial reference to patrilineal succession, though the right of primogeniture was not established. *The History of the Southern Tsi*[11] records that after P'an p'an "all the people of the kingdom elected the general Fan-che-man (also known as Fan-man) as king". It thus seems that after the death of P'an-p'an there broke out sort of a revolution which could very well have been directed against the principle of patrilineal succession of the royalty[12]. This interpretation seems to be corroborated by what is known of the Fans. Formerly scholars generally held that Fan was an adaptation of the Sanskrit *varman* but according to R.A. Stein Fan is "the transcription of a phonetic form which is somewhat more evolved than the ethnic name"[13] He further holds that since, according to the *History of the Southern Tsi*, the indigenous people were found eager, as soon as the opportunity came, to set upon the throne members of the family of Fan from amongst whom kings used to nominate their generals, it is possible that the family of Fan actually represented the cognate branch descended from the first queen and with her the indigenous element[14]. The emergence of the Fans in the Fou-nan in the third century A.D. could have been regarded as the take-over of the reins of government by the indigenous elements but for the details of royal succession among the Fan rulers, which would go against such a conclusion. It was a period of storm and stress which abounded in political murders. The accounts contained in the Chinese annals, which remain our only source of information for the period, are highly confused so much so that Mme Porée-Maspero might have some justification in her accusation against the Chinese annalists of falsifying the pattern of succession from the maternal to the paternal family of Fan-che-man. Let us look into the matter more closely.

It is stated that the legitimate successor of Fan-che-man was one Kin-cheng but how the legitimacy of Kin-cheng was established and what relationship existed between Fan-che-man and Kin-cheng are nowhere stated. Now, if it is assumed that the Chinese predilection of considering legitimacy in the matter of royal succession only in the paternal line was operational in this case as well, it would follow that Kin-cheng was most probably a son of Fan-che-man. He was assassinated by a nephew of Fan-che-man named Fan-Tchan. In the indigenous system of succession it was only normal to expect the nephew in the maternal line (i.e. sister's son) to succeed the maternal uncle but to the Chinese annalists Fan-Tchan was only a usurper. Twenty years later Fan-Tchang was himself killed by Tchang who has been explicitly stated to have been a son of Fan-che-man. Tchang, in his turn, was extirpated from the throne and finally killed by the general Fan-Siun. From the above account of a series of horrid murders, it will be evident that attempts were made to perpetuate the rule of the male line of Fan-che-man but these did not succeed. On the first occasion it was a Fan and nephew of Fan-che-man (thereby indicating the transmission of the family name in the maternal line) who successfully prevented it. Later also it was a Fan who prevented Tchang, a son of Fan-che-man from ruling the country. The relationship existing between Fan-che-man and Fan-Siun is not known but on the analogy of Fan-Tchan before him, Fan-Siun may be taken as another nephew of Fan-che-man and a uterine brother or maternal first cousin of Fan-Tchan.

The reign of Fan-Siun ended in c. A.D. 250. For more than a century nothing is known of the political history of the Fou-nan. During this period, however, new waves of Indianization overwhelmed Fou-nan. From the *History of the Tsin* and *Leang Dynasties* we learn that in A.D. 357 T'ien-tchou Tchan-tan (=Hindu or Sindhu Candana) became king of Fou-nan[15]. The *Leang-shu* calls one of his successors Kiao-tch'en-jou. Coedès believes that the name, as recorded by the Chinese, results from a contamination of the name of the first

Kauṇḍinya-Hiuen-tien[16]. It will, however, be observed that a successor of Kiao-tch'en-jou has been eulogized as belonging to the family of Kambu and not of Kauṇḍinya. Indeed the name Kiao-tch'en-jou may stand for Kamboja (Laghman region of North Western India) and like T'ien-tchou Tchan-tan, Kiao-tch'en-jou might have been a Kuṣāṇa fugitive or immigrant from North-Western India. According to the *Leang-shu,* he was a *po-la-men* (=*brāhmaṇa*) from India and was asked to proceed to the Fou-nan by a supernatural voice. In the South he arrived at P'an-P'an. The people of the Fou-nan recognized him and elected him king. He is credited to have changed all the laws along Indian method[17]. His election to the throne may be just a euphemism for violent capture of power. In any case, it clearly signified a break with the past when the principle of matrilineal succession for the royalty successfully contended with the opposing principle. This hypothesis seems to be corroborated by the clear assertion that Kiao-tch'en-jou changed all the laws after the Indian method.

One of the successors of Kiao-tch'en-jou, called Tch'e-li-t'o-pa-mo in the *Leang-shu* ruled from A.D. 424 to 453. The name Tch'e-li-t'o-pa-mo may correspond to any one of the following names : (i) Śrutavarman, (ii) Śreṣṭhavarman and (iii) Śrī Indravarman. The last restoration may be immediately discarded since a king of this name is not known from any other source to have reigned in any part of the country at such an early date. The Baksei Caṃkroṅ inscription of Rājendravarman II describes Śrutavarman as the progenitor of all kings of Kambuja[18], while the Tà Prohm[19], Práḥ Khàn[20] and Pràsàt Cruṅ (of Aṅkor Thoṃ, South - East angle)[21] inscriptions of Jayavarman VII describe Śreṣṭhavarman as the son of Śrutavarman (*Śruta-varmma-sūnu,* st. VI) and belonging to the family of Kambu (*Śrī-Kambu-vaṃś-āmvara-bhāskaro=yo,* st. VII), as distinct from the family of Kauṇḍinya[22]. Phonetically Śrutavarman seems to be nearer to Tch'e-li-t'o-pa-mo. Hence it may be stated that Śrutavarman is the intended ruler[22a]. As known from the inscriptions referred to above, he was succeeded to the throne by his son Śreṣṭhavarman who ruled over Śreṣṭhapura[23]. He may have been the immediate predecessor of Cho-ye-pa-mo (=Jayavarman) who ruled from A.D. 483 to 514. That they were related in the paternal line will be evident from the use of the patronymic Kiao-tch'en-jou in the *History of the Southern Tsi* to denote Cho-ye-pa-mo[24]. It may thus be assumed that from the time the reforms in the laws and customs of the country after the Indian method were instituted by the first Kiao-tch'en-jou down to A.D. 514 succession to the throne of the Fou-nan was effected in the paternal line and also possibly directly from father to son.

It is, however, not altogether impossible that Jayavarman pursued a policy of reconciliation with the advocates of indigenous culture and even entered into matrimonial relation with the Fan clan. This hypothesis is based on the evidence contained in the *Leang-shu* and the *Nan-Che*. They record that the throne of Lin-yi (=roughly Campā) was usurped by one named (Fan) Tang-Ken-tch'ouen who was a son of the king of Fou-nan. Judged from the date of the event described, the Fou-nanese king cannot be anyone else than Cho-ye-pa-mo/Jayavarman[25]. It is thus to be concluded that Jayavarman married a girl of the Fan clan and had a son by her. This son was called, after the name of the mother, a Fan. Since he derived no right to the Founanese throne through his mother for which he would have possibly to contend with many other brothers and half-brothers, he launched upon a career of adventure and finally usurped the throne of Lin-yi. This usurper has of course been referred to by Cho-ye-pa-mo as Kieou-tch'eou-lo (=Kujula ?), his servant but this does not disprove our contention. It may be recalled that the first of the line of Jayavarman has been called T'ien-chu Tchan-tan, pointing to their Scythian origin and residence in the Lower Iudus valley.

Whatever be it, in so far as the throne of Fou-nan is concerned, patrilineal succession now seems to have been the well-established custom. The *Leang-shu* states that the son of Cho-ye-pa-mo born of a legitimate queen was ousted from the throne and subsequently killed by his (half)-brother Lieou-ta-p'o-mo, born of a concubine. The son who was thus ousted may have been Guṇavarman who had been appointed governor of the land reclaimed from marshes (*jambātta-bhojaka-pade*)[26]. He may have been born of Kulaprabhāvatī, the chief queen (*agramahiṣī*) of Jayavarman[27]. But it must be stated that there is not the slightest indication regarding his parentage in his inscription. However, he has been eulogized as the moon of the family of Kauṇḍinya (*Kauṇḍinya-vaṃśa-śaśinā*, st. VII)[28]. It should not also be overlooked that while Cho-ye-pa-mo/Jayavarman adhered to the tradition of Kiao-tch'en-jou (Kambuja), Guṇavarman reverts to the other tradition of reckoning descent through Kauṇḍinya and Somā. Thus it is also possible to consider Guṇavarman as one of the contenders for the throne after the death of Jayavarman. Thus to sum up, the question of succession after Jayarvarman presented itself as follows :

(i) Jayavarman had a son by a Fan girl who had usurped the throne of Lin-yi. This 'usurper' died in A.D. 514 i.e. to say immediately after the death of Jayavarman. He might have been worsted in the war of succession and lost his life.

(ii) There was a prince named Guṇavarman whose Pràsàt Prăm Lovêṅ inscription has been palaeographically dated in the beginning of the 6th century A.D. He may have been a son of Jayavarman I born of his chief queen Kulaprabhāvatī. In that case he is more likely to be identified with the prince defeated and killed by Lieou-ta-pa-mo i.e. Rudravarman. Alternatively, Guṇavarman may be considered as a descendant of the earlier ruling family which claimed descent from the couple Kauṇḍinya-Somā in contradistinction with the tracing of descent from Kambu-Merā and thus not to be regarded as a Kiao-tch'en-jou (Kambuja). In any case Guṇavarman does not appear to have reigned for a long period.

(iii) In the war of succession that followed the death of Jayavarman, Rudravarman-Lieou-ta-pa-mo was the ultimate victor. He is expressly stated to have been a son of Jayavarman (*tat pitrā jayavarmmaṇā nṛpatinā*)[29]. With regard to the dynastic connexion with either Kauṇḍinya or Kambu, his own inscription is silent but the inscription of Baksei Caṃkroṅ of the time of Rājendravarman II (A.D. 944—968) describes him and his successors as born of the daughter of the couple Kauṇḍinya and Somā (*Kauṇḍinya-Soma* (sic. *ā*)-*duhitṛ-prabhavāḥ kṣitīndrāḥ*, st. XVI)[30]. The reversion to the older tradition of descent in the daughter's line of Kauṇḍinya and Somā in preference to Kiao-tch'en-jou i.e. of Kambu and Merā and the Indian patrilineal pattern seems to be significant in the process of a fight-back or re-assertion of the indigenous system of matrilineal succession even for the royalty. Indeed, Rudravarman has been credited with starting a new dynasty of rulers (*śrī-rudravarmmā-nṛpati-pramukhās=tataḥ...kṣitīndrā=jātāḥ*)[31], in spite of the fact of his being a son of his predecessor viz. king Jayavarman/Cho-ye-pa-mo. According to the system of patrilineal succession, Rudravarman cannot be said to have been the founder of a new dynasty but he could very well be regarded as the founder of a new dynasty legitimizing his violent seizure of power by claiming right through his mother, probably an indigenous woman of the commonalty. Possibly that was the reason why she was not taken as a full-fledged wife by the late king and therefore described as a concubine by the Chinese annalists[32]. But the problem is to clearly identify this dynasty.

NOTES

1. P. Pelliot, Quelques textes chinois concernant l' Indochine hindouisée, *Études Asiatiques* (abb. E.A.), vol. II, pp. 246-249, See also Wang Gungwu, The Nan-hai Trade, *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XXXI, pt. 2, p. 33, n. 10.
2. R. Stein, Le Lin-yi, *Han-hiue (Bulletin du centre d'étude sinologique de l'Université de Pékin)*, vol. II (1947), p. 258.
3. G. Coedès, *Les E'tats Hindouisés d'Indochine et d' Indonésie* (ed. 1964), p. 76.
4. La légende de la Nāgī Somā, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XI, p. 391.
5. L. Finot, Les inscriptions de Mi-son, No. III, sts XV-XVI, B.E.F.E.O., vol. IV, p. 923=*Notes d'Épiqraphie*, pp. 131-32 (already quoted, see *supra* p. 8).
6. cf. Finot, Sur quelques traditions indochinoises, *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique d'Indochine* (abb. B.C.A.I.), vol. XI (1911), pp. 20-37; Mme Eve Porée-Maspero, N.E.S.N., J.A., vol. 238 (1950), pp. 239-245; R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East* (ed. 1963), p. 15.
7. P. Pelliot, *Oeuvres posthumes*, vol. III., *Mémoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge de Tcheou Tä'-Kouan* (nouvelle version), p. 12: "Pour ce qui est de la tour d'or à l'intérieur du palais, le souverain va coucher la nuit ā son sommet. Tous les indigènes prétendent que dans la tour il y a un génie qui est un serpent à neuf têtes, maitre du sol de tout le royaume. Ce génie apparaêt toutes les nuits sous la forme d'une femme. C'est avec lui que le souverain couche d'abord et s'unit".
8. *Les Etats* etc., p. 76.
9. *Leang-shu* quoted by P. Pelliot in le Fou-nan, B.E.F.E.O., vol. III, p. 265.
10. Also *Rites Agraires* etc. vol. I, p. 160: "Ainsi donc le texte postérieur a toujours corrigé dans le sens de la légitimité des fils de Fan-che-man. Tant de transformations concertèes trahissent le partli pris."
11. P. Pelliot, Le Fou-nan, *loc. cit.*, p. 257; see also *Leang-shu* passage in this regard at pp. 263-64.
12. cf. G. Maspero, *Le royaume de Champā*, p. 54 (suite de la note 7 de la page 53); G. Ferrand, Ye-tiao, Sseu-tiao et Java, J.A., nov.-déc., 1916, pp. 524-530, where *pien* has been taken as an equivalent of *varman*. For Pelliot's criticism of the above, see Quelques textes chinonis etc., E.A., vol. II, p. 250.
13. Le Lin-yi, *loc. cit.*, p. 259.
14. ibid, p. 258. M. Demieville is, however, sceptical of this identification and interpretation of Fan. Coedès also prefers to stick to the earlier equation of *Fan=varman*. He is further inclined to consider Fan-(che)-man as a transcription of Śrī-māra (–varman), mentioned in the venerable stèle inscription of Vo-Canh in the province of Nha-trang of Viet-nam (*Les Etats* etc., p. 81). As pointed out by J. Fillozat (vide *Les Etats* etc. p. 82, n. 1), the name Māra is strongly reminiscent of Māran, a name borne by many a Pāṇḍya ruler mentioned in the Tamil Saṅgam literature of the early centuries of the Christian era.
15. M. Stein believes that T'ien-tchou of the *Leang-shu* where the fugitive prince Ti-tchen of Lin-yi took shelter must have signified the Fou-nan where at that time the dynasty of the T'ien-tchous was ruling. He further believes that the ruler of the country is called T'ien-tchou because he belonged to the family of Kauṇḍinya of India (*op. cit.*, pp. 257-58, no. 277). But it may be observed that nowhere has Fou-nan been called Tien-tchou. In the second place, the ruling family also did not belong to the race (*gotra*) of Kauṇḍinya. In consideration of

the fact that the name Tchan-tan may correspond to Candra or Candana which was another name of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka I (cf. S. Lévi, Kaniṣka et Sātavāhana, J.A., jan-mars, 1936, p. 82) and particularly of the date of his coming to power i.e., A.D. 357 which falls within the period of the *digvijaya* of Samudra Gupta, it is much more likely that T'ien Tchou Tchan-tan was originally a fugitive Śaka or Kuṣāṇa prince fleeing from the Ganges or Lower Indus valley who ultimately became king of Fou-nan.

16. *Les Etats* etc., p. 110, n. 1.
17. P. Pelliot, Le Fou-nan, *loc. cit.*, p. 269. Stein's view that Kiao-tch'en-jou was a descendant of Kauṇḍinya by the king named P'an-P'an lacks corroboration.
18. "*Śrī-Kambu-bhūbhara-bhṛtaś=śrutavarmma-mūlāḥ*", *st.* XIII, Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, vol. IV, p. 90.
19. Tà Prohm inscription, Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja* (abb. I.K.), No. 177, p. 461.
20. B E.F.E.O., vol.XLI, pp. 283-85 ; I.K. no. 178 ; pp. 477 f.
21. I.C., vol. IV, p. 210.
22. Such characterization as the sun of the firmament which is the dynasty of Kambu as distinct from that of Kauṇḍinya would tend to show that Tch'e-li-to-pa-mo and for the matter of that his ancestors, T'ien-chou Tchan-tan and Kiao-tch'en jou did not belong to the Kauṇḍinya *gotra.*

22a. P. Pelliot thinks that Tch'e-li-to-pa-mo should correspond to Śrīndravarman rather than to Śresṭhavarman. He says that if Śrīndravarman does not figure in the epigraphic lists, so do the others excepting the last prince viz. Rudravarman (Le Fou-nan, *loc. cit.*, p. 298).

23. Tà Prohm inscription, I.K., p. 461. Śresṭhapura as a town and district existed in Aṅkorian times as well and was situated in the region of Bassak in the middle Mékong valley.
24. P. Pelliot, Le Fou-nan, *loc. cit.*, p. 257.
25. *ibid.*, n. 2, pp. 258-59. According to what has been recorded in the *History of the Southern Tsi*, the Fou-nanese king Cho-ye-pa-mo/Jayavarman names the usurper of the throne of Lin-yi as Kieou-chieou-lo (Pelliot, *loc. cit.*, p. 258).
26. Prâsàt Prăm Lovêṅ inscription, st. VII, Coedès, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXXI, p. 1.
27. Năk tà Dambaṅ Dek inscription, st. I, *Journal of Greater India Society*, vol. IV, p. 117.
28. *loc. cit.*
29. Tà Prohm inscription, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXXI, p. 8.
30. I.C., vol. IV, p. 90.
31. *ibid.*
32. St. XIII of the Baksei Caṃkroṅ inscription runs as follows :

"Śrī-kamvu-bhūbhara-bhṛtaś × śrutavarmma-mūlā
maulād=apāsta-vali-vandhakṛt-ābhimānāḥ
sannandakāḥ sphuṭa-sudarśana-dṛṣṭa-vīryyā
mūrttāś=cakāsati harer=iva vāhudaṇḍāḥ".

On the basis of this comparison of the manifestations of the Kambuja rulers of the line of Śrutavarman with the arms of Viṣṇu which are four in number, Coedès thinks that the number of such rulers also was four. If it is supposed that a king intervened between Śresṭhavarman and Jayavarman or if Guṇavarman is regarded as the lawful heir of Jayavarman and as having actually reigned independently, the number of kings of this family would be exactly four. But it must be admitted that nothing can be stated in this regard without any reasonable doubt.

CHAPTER II

THE AGE OF TCHEN-LA

Rudravarman ruled at least upto A.D. 539, the year when he last sent an embassy to China After him, according to the Chinese accounts, great political changes took place in the country. *The New History of the T'ang (Hsin T'ang chu)* covering the period from A.D. 618 to A.D. 906 states that "the capital of the Fou-nan was To-mou (=Vyādhapura). Suddenly the city was captured by Tchen-la and the king of Fou-nan had to shift further south in the town called 'Na-fou-na"[1]. It further states that its king Tcha-li (taken to be equivalent of *Kṣatriya* by Pelliot but, according to Coedès, corresponding better to Śrī[2]) Īśānavarman conquered Fou-nan and occupied its territory at the beginning of the *tcheng-kouan* period (A.D. 627-649)[3]. A further account of the conquest of the Fou-nan by Tchen-la is preserved in the earlier Chinese work, *History of the Souei* or *Souei-chu* (A.D. 589-618). According to it, Tchen-la was situated to the south-west of Lin-yi i.e. Campā and was originally a vassal state of the Fou-nan. The centre of this state has been located on the Middle Mékong valley in the region of Bassak where in the 5th century A.D. ruled a king known as Devānīka in inscription and as Fan chen-tch'eng to the Chinese[4]. *The History of the Souei* states that the family name of the king was Kṣatriya. His personal name was Citrasena. His grand-parents became very powerful and Citrasena defeated the king of Fou-nan and annexed it. His son Īśānasena[5] succeeded him and lived in the city of Īśāna[6].

From the above account it will be clear that if Rudravarman actually started a dynasty, either his successors ruled between c. A.D. 550 and 600[7] and were afterwards overthrown by the ruler of Tchen-la or the early rulers of Tchen-la should be regarded as belonging to the family of Rudravarman. It may, however, be observed that the grandiloquent fashion in which Rudravarman has been hailed as the progenitor of a line of kings makes it little likely that his successors had an ephemeral existence of not more than fifty years. Hence the other alternative of connecting the early rulers of Tchen-la with Rudravarman may be probed. As has been mentioned above, the Robañ Romās inscription refers to the first three rulers of Tchen-la viz. Bhavavarman who was ruling in A.D. 598, his brother (Citrasena)-Mahendravarman and son of the latter, Īśānavarman. From an inscription found at Si

Tep it is learnt that Bhavavarman was the son of one Pra (*sic.* Pṛ)-thivīndravarman and grandson of a universal monarch :

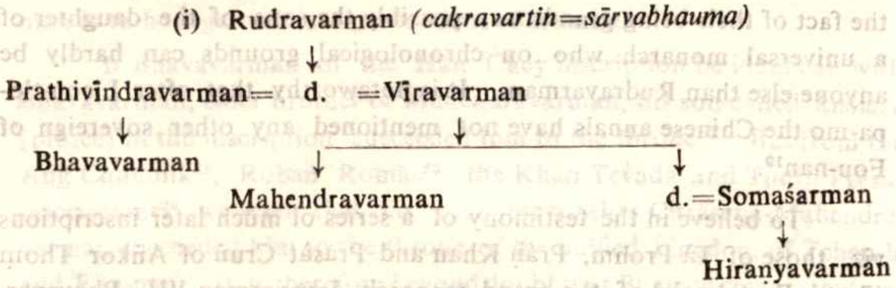
"*(rājā) śrī-cakravartti-naptā śrī-prathivīndravarmma-tanaya=ya* (*ḥ*)
śrī-bhavavarmm=endra-samas=tasya ca rājy-odbhave kāle"[8]

Again, the Khan Thevadā inscription of Citrasena-Mahendravarman states that the king was the youngest brother of Bhavavarman, son of Vīravarman and grandson of a universal ruler :

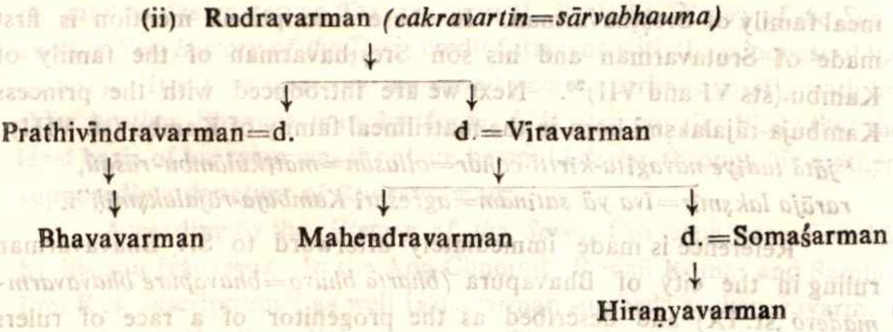
"*naptā śrī-sārvvabhaumasya sūnuś=śrī-vīravarmmaṇaḥ*
śakty=ānūna × *kaniṣṭho=pi bhavavarmmaṇaḥ*"[9].

It will thus be observed that both Bhavavarman and Mahendravarman in their inscriptions claim to be grandsons of a *cakravartin* or *sārvabhauma*. Majumdar is not sure whether *sārvabhauma* is a personal name or denotes a suzerain[10]. But the insistence on *cakravartin* in the inscription of Bhavavarman would clearly show that these expressions denoted a suzerain and Coedès is inclined to find here a reference to Rudravarman. It is indeed very much likely that after Rudravarman, there was a war of succesion in which Bhavavarman had the better of it. It is also possible that Bhavavarman conquered extensive part of the country since it is stated in the Ang Chumnik inscription[11], that he acquired the kingdom by his own prowess *(sva-śakty-ākrānta-rājyasya)*. Still the fact remains that in the very same inscription the good rule of Rudravarman has been praised.[12] This would make it clear that though in reality Bhavavarman captured the throne by forcible means, he wanted to establish himself as the *naptā* (possibly daughter's son) of Rudravarman and as such his legitimate heir. This view seems to have been upheld by Pelliot also[13]. Though the inscriptions of Citrasena-Mahendravarman speak of his conquest of the entire country *(vijitya nikhilān deśān)*, and the *History of the Souei* confirms it, it appears from the *New History of the T'ang* that the reduction of Fou-nan was completed only under his son Īśānavarman[14]. It will thus be reasonable to argue that Bhavavarman, Mahendravarman and Īśānavarman all had to wage a war of conquest against real or pretended successors of Rudravarman who in the face of the onslaught of the rulers of T'chen-la shifted their capital from To-mu to Na-fou-na[15].

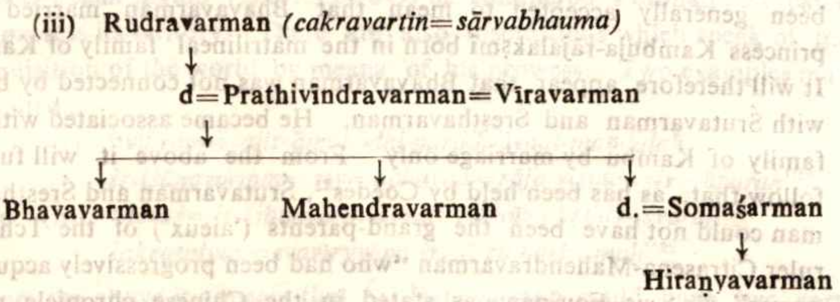
However, both Bhavavarman and Mahendravarman seem to have sought legitimacy of the power enjoyed by them by connecting themselves to Rudravavarman and thus Rudravavarman may very well be regarded as having started a dynasty. Though he called himself the youngest brother, Mahendravarman does not appear to have been a full brother of Bhavavarman. In the same way, though the wife of the Brāhmaṇa Somaśarman has been described as the sister of Bhavavarman[16], yet she also was not a full sister. While Prathivīndravarman was the father of Bhavavarman, Vīravarman was the father of Mahendravarman and of the wife of Somśarman. Since neither Prathivīndravarman nor Vīravarman is known to have reigned, it can hardly be pretended that they were the two sons of Rudravarman. Thus Bhavavarman and Mahendravarman were in all likelihood not related to Rudravarman in the paternal line. The genealogical position may be any of the following :


(i) Rudravarman *(cakravartin=sārvabhauma)*
Prathivīndravarman= d. =Vīravarman
Bhavavarman
Mahendravarman
d.=Somaśarman
Hiraṇyavarman

or,


(ii) Rudravarman *(cakravartin=sārvabhauma)*
Prathivīndravarman=d.
d.=Vīravarman
Bhavavarman
Mahendravarman
d.=Somaśarman
Hiraṇyavarman

or,


(iii) Rudravarman *(cakravartin=sārvabhauma)*
d=Prathivīndravarman=Vīravarman
Bhavavarman
Mahendravarman
d.=Somaśarman
Hiraṇyavarman

Of these three posible positions no. iii may be easily discarded because of lack any corroborating evidence. Alternative no. ii is more readily acceptable to Indian sentiment. According to it, Bhavavarman and Mahendravarman would be really cousins and not brothers as claimed by Mahendravarman. But a similar case may be cited. Harṣavarman

II and Rājendravarman II were really cousin-brothers but nevertheless Harṣavarman II has been called the younger brother of Rājendravarman II[17]. However, in view of the fact that marrying more than one husband by princesses, possibly not simultaneously but successively, was prevalent even in the Aṅkorian period[18], the first alternative appears to be more probable in the Khmèr context. In any case, Bhavavarman began the conquest of Fou-nan and Mahendravarman completed or rather extended it but both claimed legality of their reign by virtue of the fact of their being grandsons, possibly the sons of the daughter of a universal monarch who on chronological grounds can hardly be anyone else than Rudravarman. It is noteworthy that after Lieou-t'o-pa-mo the Chinese annals have not mentioned any other sovereign of Fou-nan[19].

To believe in the testimony of a series of much later inscriptions viz. those of Tà Prohm, Práḥ Khan and Pràsàt Cruṅ of Aṅkor Thoṃ (South-East Angle) of the grand monarch Jayavarman VII, Bhavavarman staked his claim to the throne on his connexion with the matrilineal family of Śreṣṭhavarman. In these inscriptions mention is first made of Śrutavarman and his son Śreṣṭhavarman of the family of Kambu (sts VI and VII)[20]. Next we are introduced with the princess Kambuja-rājalakṣmī born in the matrilineal family of Kambu (st. VIII):

"jātā tadīye navagīta-kīrtti-candr=ollasan=mātṛkulāmbu-rāśau,
rarāja lakṣmīr=iva yā satīnām=agresarī Kambuja-rājalakṣmīḥ".

Reference is made immediately afterward to Śrī Bhavavarman ruling in the city of Bhavapura *(bhartā bhuvo=bhavapure bhavavarmmadevo* ,st. IX) and described as the progenitor of a race of rulers of the world *(avanīndra-kula-prasūtiḥ)*. The verses VII & VIII have been generally accepted to mean that Bhavavarman married the princess Kambuja-rājalakṣmī born in the matrilineal family of Kambu. It will therefore appear that Bhavavarman was not connected by blood with Śrutavarman and Śreṣṭhavarman. He became associated with the family of Kambu by marriage only. From the above it will further follow that, as has been held by Coedès[21], Śrutavarman and Śreṣṭhavarman could not have been the grand-parents ('aieux') of the Tchen-la ruler Citrasena-Mahendravarman "who had been progressively acquiring power" *vis-à-vis* Fou-nan, as stated in the Chinese chronicle noted above. The statement contained in the Bàksei Chaṃkroṅ inscription to the effect that the descendants of Kambu claimed themselves to be of solar race but united at the same time the lunar race of Kauṇḍinya-Somā[22] may be explained as follows: Descent and lineage were generally counted in the mother's line. Bhavavarman, being the son of a daughter of Rudravarman who, as seen before, claimed descent from Kauṇḍinya and Somā, was of the lunar race. For similar reasons, Kambujarāja-lakṣmī belonged to the solar race of Kambu. Thus in her progeny was united the solar and the lunar dynasties of kings. It may be recalled, however, that the kings of Fou-nan named Cho-ye-pa-mo and Lieou-ta-pa-mo bore the patronymic Kiao-tch'en-jou. If Kiao-tch'en-jou stands for Kambuja, as has been suggested, it will appear that according to the patrilineal system associated with the name, Rudravarman is to be regarded as a descendant of Kambu.

If Bhavavarman of the Han Chey inscription be identical with Bhavavarman, elder brother of Mahendravarman, his son called *kumāra* (prince) in the inscription succeeded him to the throne[23]. But from the Ang Chumnik[24], Robañ Romās[25], the Khan Tevadā and Thoṃ Pràsàt inscriptions[26] we learn that his youngest brother Citrasena-Mahendravarman succeeded him to the throne of the unified kingdom of Tchen-la and Fou-nan. It is therefore beyond doubt that Bhavavarman mentioned in the Han Chey inscription refers to another king of the same name. He may be designated as Bhavavarman II. Both the *History of the Souei* and the *New History of the T'ang* credit Citrasena with the conquest of the country. It is thus clear that he seized power, perhaps jointly with his elder brother Bhavavarman, by force. It is also equally likely that the legal basis of his reign was the claim he could derive through his mother, supposedly a daughter of Rudravarman.

According to the *History of the Souei*, Citrasena was succeeded by his son Īśānasena. In the Ang Chumnik, Robañ Romās and Sambor Prei Kuk inscriptions[27] as well Īśānavarman succeeds Mahendravarman. According to the *New History of the T'ang*, in the beginning of the *tcheng-kouan* period (A.D. 627-649) he conquered Fou-nan and came to possess its teritory. There are also inscriptions which speak of his acquisition of the world by means of his prowess. Two examples may be cited :

(i) "*vikram-āvajit-āmbhodhi-parikh-āvani-maṇḍalaḥ*
śr-īśānavarmm=ety=abhavad=rājā viṣṇur=iv=āparaḥ"[28]
and (ii) "*devaś=śr-īśānavarmm=eti vabhūva pṛthiv-īśvaraḥ*
śakratulyas=svavīryyeṇa śriyā ca hari...maḥ"[29]

From the above it appears that Śrī Īśānavarman could have two sorts of claim to the throne. First, he could claim the throne by virture of patrilineal succession. Secondly, he could hold it as a *fait accompli* of his forcible conquest. It will be observed that the principle of patrilineal succession for the royalty was perhaps not as yet much established since Rudravarman, Bhavavarman and Citrasena-Mahendravarman all claim legitimacy of their reign through their mother and/or wife. That may be the reason why nowhere in the inscriptions it is stated that Īśānavarman was a son of Mahendravarman. He thus preferred to claim the throne by virtue of conquest. It is only the Chinese who in their preconceived notion of legitimacy in the paternal line mention the father and son relation existing between Mahendravarman and Īśānavarman.

The inscriptions of Īśānavarman are dated between A.D. 627 and 639. The Ang Chumnik inscription[30] is dated in A.D. 629 and so falls within the reign-period of Īśānavarman but at B, 1.7 Jayavarman is mentioned as the ruling king. So far the earliest known date of Jayavarman I is 579.Ś=A.D. 657-658[31]. However, in consideration of chronology and palaeography Barth seems to be justified to think that from B, 1.7 of the Ang Chumrik inscription, a new text begins.

Īśānavarman seems to have been succeeded by Bhavavarman II whose earliest known date is 561 Śaka (=A.D. 639)[32]. He is eulogized to have conquered all the rulers of mountains, clearly a veiled allusion to the rulers of Fou-nan with its capital at Bà-Phnoṃ (Vyādhapura):

> "*jitvā parvatabhūpālān tanoti sakalā bhuvaḥ*
> *vandibhis=saguṇānīgair=yyaśobhir=iva yo=diśaḥ*"[33]

It is thus likely that Bhavavarman II owed his throne primarily to his success in the battle-field. But an inscription describes him as the grandson, possibly in the maternal line—which is rather suggested by the use of the word *naptā* in preference to *pautra*—of a king whose name has disappeared[34]. He also claims descent from the mythical couple Kauṇḍinya and Somā[35], thus attaching himself with the family tradition of Rudravarman and Bhavavarman I.

The Han Chey[36] inscription mentions a *kumāra* or son of Bhavavarman II. Coedès is inclined to identify him with Jayavarman I[37]. Though he is said to have vanquished a circle of enemies (*vijitāri-maṇḍalaḥ*)[38], the succession seems to have passed off peacefully. Indeed, a Sambor Prei Kuk inscription[39] first mentions Bhavavarman II and then refers to the prosperous reign of Jayavarman I: *susthitiṃ rakṣati nṛpe tasmin śrī-jayavarmmaṇi.* That Jayavarman came to the throne as a result of the operation of the principle of patrilineal succession is beyond any doubt. Though he recognized descent from the couple Kauṇḍinya-Somā[40] which tends to be rather matrilineal, a stèle inscription from Bàset refers to the earth as belonging to the patrilineal family of Jayavarman:

> "*tasmin mahībhṛti mahīm=ariśāsini śāsati*
> *pitṛ-paitāmahīm=anya-mahījita-mahīyasīm*"[41].

The reversal in the trend of royal succession from being legally matrilineal to patrilineal may be connected with a new wave of Indianization which reached Cambodia in the time of the imperial Pallavas of Kāñcī. Actually in the Bàyàng temple inscription of the time of Bhavavarman II there is mention of the name Koṅguvarman which is strongly reminiscent of the Pallavas of Kāñcī. Further the Tan Kraṅ inscription of Jayavarman I clearly mentions Kāñcipura upto which the fame of the king is presumed to have travelled.[42]

A stèle inscription dated 635 Ś. (=A.D. 713) found at Western Bàrày mentions Śrī Jayadevī as ruling in her own right :

"*jayati śrī jayadevī yā dhatte dharṇīdhūrām*".[43]

The Khmèr text also adds the royal style *Kanloṅ Kamyārāma dhuli jeṅ Vraḥ Kamrateṅ Añ* to Śrī Jayadevī (1.15). This inscription categorically mentions that Śobhājayā was the wife of Brāhmaṇa Śakrasvāmin and the daughter of king Jayavarman (st. IV) who on chronological grounds is supposed to be none else than Jayavarman I of Tchen-la/Kambuja. The inscription is, however, silent as to the relationship between Jayadevī and Jayavarman. Coedès at first held that in consideration of the identity of the essential element of the two names viz. *Jaya*, it may be supposed that Jayadevī was the widow of Jayavarman whom she succeeded in default of a more qualified successor. Coedès, of course, admitted that this was just a supposition in support of which there was no evidence at all[44]. Later on, he has partially modified his position with regard to the relationship between Jayavarman I and Jayadevī. A Vat Khnàt inscription mentions a king Śrī Jayavarman and states that just as the ocean possessed Padmālayā i.e. Lakṣmī, this king possessed a *devī* named Jayadevī :

"*Padmālay=eva jaladher=ddivyair=devīguṇair=yyutā*
devī (śrī) (jayad) ev=īti yasyān=prathita (bhuvi)"

The Khmèr text describes Jayadevī as actually reigning and issuing an edict *(ājñā)* : "*ta gi vraḥ rājya Vra(ḥ Kamrateṅ Añ) Śrī Jayadevī*"[45]. In view of the fact that Jayadevī has been likened with Padmālayā i.e. Lakṣmī who is the daughter, and not wife of the ocean *(jaladhi)*, Coedès seems to be justified in regarding Jayadevī as the daughter of king Jayavarman, evidently Jayavarman I[46]. Succession to the royal throne and actual wielding of royal authority by a woman must be viewed as something unique. Hence, it is worth enquiring the validity or otherwise of the contention of Coedès that she came to the throne in default of a better claimant.

NOTES

1. P. Pelliot, Le Fou-nan, *loc. cit.*, p. 274.
2. P. Pelliot, *ibid.*, p. 272 ; Coedès, *Les États* etc. p. 126, n.1.
3. P. Pelliot, Le Fou-nan, *loc. cit.*, p. 275.
4. Coedès, Nouvelles données sur les origines du royaume Khmer, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XLVIII (1956), pp. 209-220.
5. Palpably a mistake for Īśānavarman.
6. P. Pelliot, Le Fou-nan, *loc. cit.*, p. 272.
7. It may be noted that Bhavavarman was already ruling in A D. 598 (cf. Robaṅ Romās inscription, st. VIII, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XLIII, p. 6).
8. K. 978, I.C., vol. VII, p. 158.
9. st. I, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXII, p. 58 ff.
10. I.K., p. 20.
11. "*śva-śakty-ākrānta-rājyasya rājñaḥ śrī-bhavavarmmaṇaḥ*", I.S.C.C., No. XI, st. V, p. 67.
12. *ibid*, st. II.
13. P. Pelliot, Le Fou-nan, *loc. cit.*, p. 302.
14. see above n. 3.
15. Rendered by Pelliot as Navanagara, Le Fou-nan, *op. cit.*, p. 295 ; Coedès takes it as Naravaranagara and identifies it with Aṅkor Borei which, he considers was the capital of Jayavarman (Quelques précisions sur la fin du Fou-nan, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XLIII, p. 5).
16. "*śrī-vīravarmma-duhitā svasā śrī-bhavavarmmaṇaḥ l pativratā dharmmaratā dvitīy =ārundhat=iva yā ll,*" Veal Kantel Inscription, st. I, I.S.C.C., No. IV, p. 30, I.K., No. 13, p. 19.
17. cf. Prè Rup Inscription, st. CCLXXXI, I.C., vol. I., p. 103.
18. Inscription of Pràsàt Bêṅ, K. 989, B.LL. 19-20, I.C , vol. VII, p. 31/176.
19. P. Pelliot, Le Fou-nan, *loc. cit.*, p. 295.
20. *loc. cit.*, B.E.F.E.O., vol. VI, p. 71=I K., No. 177, p. 461.
21. Coedès, *Les États* etc., p. 128.
22. "*śvāyambhuvan=namata kamvum=udīrṇṇā kīrttim*
  yasy=ārkka—soma—kula—saṅgatim, st. XI, I.C., IV., p. 90.
23. "*tasya rājādhirājasya navendur=iva sutaḥ*" st. XVII.
  "*śaivaṃ pade gate rājñi dṛṣṭv=āyam=uditaṃ prajāḥ muñcanti yugapad vāṣpe*
  śok—ānanda—samudbhave", st. XIX, I.S.C.C., No. I, p. 14.
24. Ang Chumnik inscription, sts V and VI, p. 67.
25. Robaṅ Romās, st II :
  "*śrī-bhavavarmmā kṣitipaḥ kṣoṇīndraś=ca śrī mahendravarmmā ca*
  bhrātros=tayor=mmato yas=sāmanta—nṛp—āgraṇīr...ekaḥ"
26. "*naptā śrī—sārvvabhaumasya sūnuś=śrī—vīravarmmaṇaḥ*
  sakty=ānūna× kaniṣṭho=pi bhrātā śrī—bhavavarmmaṇaḥ
  śrīcitrasenanāmā ya x pūrvvam=āhatalakṣaṇaḥ
  sa=mahendravarmm=eti nāma bheje' abhiṣekajam"—
  Khān Thevodā and Thoṃ Pràsàt Inscriptions, B E.F.E.O., vol. XXII, pp. 58-59.
27. Tower N of the Southern door-pillar, K. 149, 11. 3-4, I.C., vol. IV, p. 28.
28. Sambor Prei Kuk Inscription, K. 804, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXVIII, p. 44.
29. Vat Cakret inscription, st. II, I.S.C.C., No. VI, p. 40.
30. I.S.C.C., No IX, pp. 55-57.
31. Finot, Inscription de Kôṃpoṅ Ruseî, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XVIII, pt 10, p. 15.

32. B.E.F.E.O., vol. IV, pp. 691-97.
33. Han Chey Inscription, st. X, I.S.C.C., No. I, p. 13.
34. Sambor Prei Kuk, Tower 20, Inscription of door-pillar, st. III, I.C., vol. IV, p. 31.
35. "*somānvaye prasūtasya somasy=eva payonidhau*", st. III, Han Chey Inscription, *loc. cit.*
36. I.S.C.C., No. I, st. XIX-XXI, p. 14.
37. *Les Etats* etc., p 137.
38. Tûol Kak Prăḥ Inscription Finot, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XVIII, pt 10, p. 15.
39. K. 439, Northern door-pillar, st. III, I.C., vol. IV, p. 32.
40. Kdei Aṅ Inscription, st. VII, I.S.C.C., No. IX, p. 51.
41. I.C., vol. II, pp 194-195.
42. I.C., vol. I, p. 8.
43. K. 904, st. II, I.C., vol. IV, p. 58.
44. I.C., vol. IV, p. 55.
45. Text III, Khmèr and Sanskrit, sts III and IV, I.C., vol. VII, p. 53.
46. *ibid*, p. 52.

CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD OF DISLOCATION OF TCHEN-LA AND MULTIPLICITY OF STATES (1)

I. THE DIVISION OF TCHEN-LA

The *New History of the T'ang Dynasty* states that in the beginning of the eighth century A.D. after the *Chen-long* period (A D. 705-706) Tchen-la/Cambodia was divided into two kingdoms: in the south Tchen-la of the Water extending up to the sea and covered with lakes and in the north Tchen-la of the Land, also called Wen-tan or Po-leou which was full of mountains and valleys[2]. According to the *Ma-tuan-lin*[3], the Tchen-la of the Water was 800 *li* in extent, was full of lakes and had the sea for its limits[4]. Its capital was Po-lo-ti-pa, which has been taken to stand for Bālādityapura. On the analogy of Īśānapura and Yaśodharapura being founded respectively by Īśānavarman and Yaśovarman, it may be stated that cities were often christened after the name of their founders. So it is likely that Bālāditya was the founder of Bālādityapura. Inscription on the fragment of a dalle at Vat Srè Bêñ (O Lam)[5] mentions a king named Bālāditya. Again, a king of that name has been acclaimed as a distant ancestor of king Rājendravarman II, father of Jayavarman V. In the Prè Rup[6], Prâsàt Komphu's[7], Vat Práḥ Einkosei[8] and Mébon[9] inscriptions Bālāditya is stated to have been descended from the mythical couple Somā and Kauṇḍinya. The Prè Rup (st. IX) and Mébon inscriptions testify to his erection of a *liṅga* of Īśvara (i.e. Śiva) at Svargadvārapura. Indeed the Pràsàt Komphu's (st. VIII = Práḥ Einkosei, st. VI)[10] inscription categorically describes him as hailing from Svargadvārapura. The Prè Rup inscription contains the further information that he was exercising authority over his family which was matrilineal and was at that time ruling over Aninditapura. That he enjoyed sovereignty over Aninditapura is corroborated by the Mébon inscription as well[11].

Here is a little discrepancy. Following the *Ma-tuan-lin*, Bālāditya should have reigned at Bālādityapura but in the Prè Rup inscription he is stated to have his seat of power at Aninditapura. The problem may be resolved by assuming that either Bālādityapura later came to be known as Aninditapura or the latter became the capital at a later date and the inscription of Rājendravarman II is mistaken on this point[12]. It may be observed that though descent has been claimed for him from Somā and Kauṇḍinya, thus connecting him in the last analysis with the preceding ruling family of Tchen-la, nowhere is any of his predecessors mentioned or his precise relationship with any of them indicated. It may therefore be safely assumed that Bālāditya was the founder of a new dynasty. In other words, he was nothing but a political adventurer who from the obscure provincial town of Svargadvārapura rose to political eminence and came to rule at Bālādityapura/Aninditapura. Later genealogists sought to legitimize his forcible seizure of power by connecting him with the earlier ruling family of Tchen-la.

A king called Nṛpāditya is known from an inscription found at Phnoṃ Bàthê in Cochin-China[13]. On palaeographic grounds the inscription may be dated in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. Dupont could not relate him with any of the ruling dynasties and regarded him as an isolated figure[14] but the Vat Khnàt inscription of queen Jayadevī[15] mentioned earlier refers to a king of the same name. In view of the proximity of time, it is quite likely that Nṛpāditya of the two inscriptions refers to one and the same king. The point may be pursued a little further. The Vat Khnàt inscription refers to the appointment of a *vraḥ guru* to the post of the chief of merchants *(vaṇijām=adhipaḥ)* by orders of that king *(tena rājñā)*. The assignment was upheld by the queen Jayadevī who made some further endowments in his favour. It may therefore appear likely that there existed some close relationship between Nṛpāditya and Jayadevī and it will not be absolutely unreasonable to suppose that they stood in the relationship of husband and wife and that Jayadevī came to the throne after the demise of her husband.

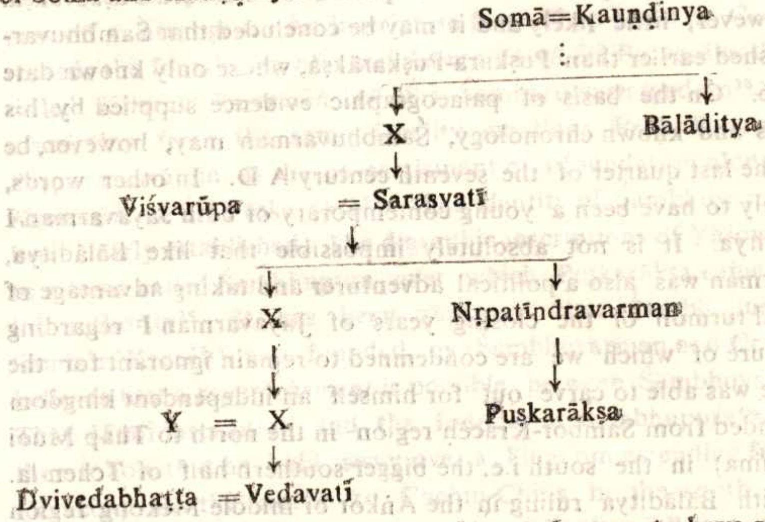
With regard to the affiliation of Nṛpāditya, it has been observed that the name-ending °*āditya* is not very common in Cambodia and it is very probable that Nṛpāditya was directly related to Bālāditya and in view of the matrilineal character of the family of Bālāditya, possibly as a nephew of the latter. As will be shown later in this chapter, Bālāditya was very much likely to have been a contemporary of Jayavarman I of Tchen-la. It is thus tempting to surmise that after successfully carving out a kingdom of his own at the cost of Jayavarman I, Bālāditya came to terms with him and the peace was cemented by a marriage alliance, Bālāditya's nephew Nṛpāditya marrying the daughter of Jayavarman I. Such an alliance had the merit of ultimately doing away with the division of the country caused by Bālāditya since as nephew of the latter and belonging to a matrilineal family, Nṛpāditya, would inherit the throne of Bālāditya. At the same time he could succeed

Jayavarman I to the throne of undivided Tchen-la through his wife Jayadevī.

There is, however, some reason to believe that things did not pass off as arranged. An inscription from Thap Muoi in Cochin-China records the foundation of a *vraḥ kamratāṅ Añ* Śrī Puṣkarākṣadeva by one called *Kamrek Kamratāṅ Añ* Śrī Śambh(u)varmmadeva[16]. Another inscription from the same locality mentions *Vraḥ Kamratāṅ Añ* Śrī Puṣpavaṭasvāmin as the co-participant of a foundation along with *Vraḥ Kamratāṅ Añ* Śrī Puṣkarākṣa[17]. The identity of Śambhuvarman has not been clearly established. The digraphic inscriptions of Yaśovarman refer to a town called Śambhupura over which Puṣkarākṣa came to exercise his authority[18]. It has been supposed that Śambhupura (=mod. Sambor, Kracéḥ) was founded by Śambhuvarman and Coedès further believes that a *rapprochement* is possible between Śambhuvarman of the Thap Muoi inscription and the founder of Śambhupura[18a]. It would then follow that he held sway over a kingdom extending from Sambor (Kracèḥ) in the north to Cochin-China in the south. To locate Śambhuvarman in point of time is also difficult. All that can be stated from a perusal of the palaeography and orthography of the Thap Muoi inscription is that he flourished in pre-Aṅkorian times i.e. before A.D. 802, when Jayavarman II attained sovereign status[18b]. It will be recalled that there is mention of Śrī Puṣkarākṣa in Thap Muoi inscription. Coedès seems to be inclined to regard Śrī Puṣkarākṣa of these inscriptions not as banal epithets of Viṣṇu, but as the deified form of a mortal king called Śrī Puṣkara[19] known from Práḥ Thāt Kvan Pir[20], as the founder of an image of Śrī Puṣkareśa in A.D. 716 in the locality of the findspot of the inscription i.e. around Sambor/Śambhupura. He is further identified with Puṣkarākṣa mentioned in the Práḥ Bàt and other digraphic and proto-Nāgarī inscriptions of Yaśovarman[21] and the Prè Rup inscription of Rājendravarman II[22]. It is quite likely that Puṣkara, author of the Práḥ Thāt Kvan Pir inscription and Puṣkarākṣa of the inscriptions of Yaśovarman and Rājendravarman II were identical but to consider him also as identical with Puṣkarākṣa of the Thap Muoi inscriptions is open to question. The digraphic inscriptions inform us that Puṣkarākṣa actually ruled over Śambhupura *(Śambhupur-āpta-rājyaḥ)*[23]. Now, if Śambhuvarman be regarded as the actual founder of the town, it would follow that Puṣkarākṣa could not rule before Śambhuvarman and accordingly the image of Puṣkarākṣa(-deva) erected by the latter cannot refer to the king with the same name mentioned in the Aṅkorian inscriptions referred to above and should be regarded simply as the name of an image of Viṣṇu. In support of the contention of Coedès it may, however, be argued that the city of Śambhupura existed earlier in the time of Puṣkara-Puṣkarākṣa and was christened as such later by Śambhuvarman, and the authors of the Aṅkorian genealogies applied this name of the city retrospectively even for the period of Puṣkara-Puṣkarākṣa. This is, however, little likely and it may be concluded that Śambhuvarman flourished earlier than Puṣkara-Puṣkarākṣa, whose only known date is A.D. 716. On the basis of palaeographic evidence supplied by his inscriptions and known chronology, Śambhuvarman may, however, be placed in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. In other words, he was likely to have been a young contemporary of both Jayavarman I and Bālāditya. It is not absolutely impossible that like Bālāditya, Śambhuvarman was also a political adventurer and taking advantage of the political turmoil of the closing years of Jayavarman I regarding the full nature of which we are condemned to remain ignorant for the present, he was able to carve out for himself an independent kingdom which extended from Sambor-Kraceḥ region in the north to Thap Muoi (Cochin-China) in the south i.e. the bigger southern half of Tchen-la. But then with Bālāditya ruling in the Aṅkor or middle Mékong region and Śambhuvarman over the territory as indicated above, there will be very little left for Jayavarman I and his family excepting the original site of Tchen-la/Kambuja i.e. the Basak region in the north. It is therefore more likely that Śambhuvarman belonged to the family of Jayavarman. It is not improbable that he was the son of Jayavarman I and contested the right of Jayadevī and her husband Nṛpāditya to the throne of Jayavarman. From the extent of his kingdom, it would rather appear that Śambhuvarman had the better of it in the struggle and he might have even killed Nṛpāditya in battle, after which Jayadevī maintained her precarious rule in the region east of Aṅkor. Such an eventuality will explain the reason of her lamentation over the wickedness of the times in her inscription from Eastern Bàrày dated A.D. 713 :

> "*jayati śrī-jayadevī yā dhatte dharaṇīdhurām*
> *kliṣṭ=āpi kalikālena kal=ev=endor=nniśā śriyam*[24]".

In any case, the fortune of the family of Bālāditya was retrieved by Puṣkarākṣa whose Práḥ Thāt Kvan Pir inscription referred to earlier proves his efficient control of the Sambor-Kraceḥ region in A.D. 716. The Práḥ Bàt and other digraphic inscriptions of Yaśovarman also credit him with the acquisition of the kingdom of Śambhupura *(Śambhupur-āpta-rājyaḥ)*. As regards the lineage of Puṣkarākṣa, the digraphic inscriptions describe him simply as born in the family of the king of Aninditapura *(aninditapur-eśvara-vaṃśa-jāta)*[25]. Some more details are furnished by the Prè Rup inscription of Rājendravarman II according to which Puṣkarākṣa was the son of Nṛpatīndravarman, the brother of the mother's mother of Vedavatī[26], born in the lineage of Sarasvatī who was the niece of Bālāditya, king of Aninditapura and a descendant of Somā and Kauṇḍinya. The table may be dressed as follows :

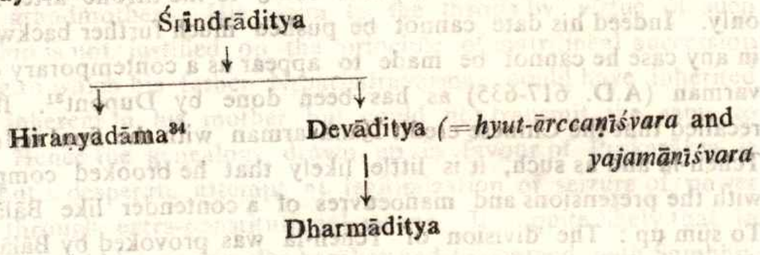


The father of Puṣkarākṣa is not known to have reigned. So there is no question of a patrilineal succession in his case. Indeed Puṣkarākṣa claims the throne as a descendent of Bālāditya, king of Aninditapura. But from the above genealogical table it appears that Puṣkarākṣa could connect himself with Bālāditya only through his paternal grandmother. His claim to the throne by virtue of such relationship is not justified on the principle of matrilineal succession according to which his father Nṛpatīndravarman could have inherited the right inherent in his mother but could not transmit the same to his son. Hence the genealogy drawn up in favour of Puṣkarākṣa is nothing but a desperate attempt at legitimization of seizure of power effected through extra-constitutional means. It is quite likely that in the quest of grabbing power, Puṣkarākṣa had to contend with Śambhuvarman and Jayadevī[27]. Dupont thinks that it was Puṣkarākṣa who provoked the division of the country into what the Chinese called Tchen-la of the Land and Tchen-la of the Water[28], but as seen above, there was little political cohesion in the country and even before Puṣkarākṣa, the first serious jolt seems have to been given by Bālāditya himself. It may be supposed that the high-handed actions of Puṣkarākṣa encouraged other centrifugal forces and led to further fragmentation of the country. Indeed, as may be learnt from the inscriptions of Indravarman[29] and Yaśovarman[30], a large number of local dynasties cropped up during this period. Hence it may be stated that Bālāditya provoked the division of the country and the process of fragmentation was formally complete in the time of Puṣkarākṣa. Such a conclusion will be justified from what the Chinese sources state regarding Tchen-la of the Water. According to the *Ma-tuan-lin*, its capital was Po-la-ti-po (= Bālādityapura), thus suggesting that Bālāditya was the person to be credited with the foundation of the kingdom and its capital. Secondly, the date of the division has been given as subsequent to the *tchen-long* period i.e. A.D. 705-706. Since Puṣkarākṣa is actually known to have reigned in A.D. 716, it is very likely that it was during his reign that the division of the country was formalized.

From the genealogical table of Vedavatī given above it will be seen that descent is traced essentially in the mother's line. Vedavatī is stated to have been born in the *vaṃśa* of Sarasvatī and Viśvarūpa. Since Cambodian inscriptions generally specify the exact nature of relationship for two successive generations only, it may be presumed that Vedavatī was separated from Sarasvatī, niece of Bālāditya and from Bālāditya himself by at least three and four generations respectively. From the same genealogical table it further transpires that Puṣkarākṣa was only one generation away in the ascending female line from Vedavatī. Thus Puṣkarākṣa was separated from Bālāditya by at least three generations. Assuming that Puṣkarākṣa reigned between A.D. 710 and 730 and counting twentyfive years for each generation, Bālāditya may be shown to have come to the throne after A.D. 635 only. Indeed his date cannot be pushed much further backward and in any case he cannot be made to appear as a contemporary of Īśānavarman (A.D. 617-635) as has been done by Dupont[31]. It may be recalled that the Chinese credit Īśānavarman with the final reduction of Tchen-la and as such, it is little likely that he brooked complacently with the pretensions and manoeuvres of a contender like Bālāditya I. To sum up: The division of Tchen-la was provoked by Bālāditya, a political adventurer in around A.D. 650 and was formalized and completed in the south between A.D. 713 and 716 by Puṣkarākṣa, another political adventurer for whom claim of descent from Bālāditya has been preferred in later inscriptions.

With regard to the other half of the country i.e. Bhavapura or Tchen-la of the Land, some light is thrown by the Prè Rup inscription itself. It has been shown above that Vedavatī was only one generation away from Puṣkarākṣa in the descending line. Therefore her father was a contemporary of Puṣkarākṣa. He has been described as a king *(mahīpati)* and one of his descendants was Mahendravarman, who is also described as the 'moon to the sea which is the family of kings' *(rājanya-vaṅś-ābdhi-niśākaraś=śrī-mahendravarmmā mahanīya-kīrttiḥ*[32]*)*. This king Mahendravarman was the father of Rājendravarman II, the Aṅkorian king and author of the Prè Rup inscription. The stanza XVII of the inscription states that he received the quality of sovereignty from his father who was the lord of Bhavapura *(pitus=svan mahati bhavapure=p=īśvarād=īśvaratvam)*. Thus Mahendravarman was a king of Bhavapura and it is not unlikely, though it does not strictly logically follow, that his ancestor, the father of Vedavatī, was also ruling over Bhavapura. If that be so, it may further be concluded that while Puṣkarākṣa was consolidating his position in the southern half of the country i.e. Tchen-la of the Water, the father of Vedavatī was ruling independently over Bhavapura which represented Tchen-la of the Land.

Whatever may be thought of the suggestions put forward above, there is independent epigraphic evidence to prove the existence of an independent kingdom of Bhavapura at least from early in the second quarter of the eighth century A.D. Thus the northern door-pillar inscription of the Pràsàt Ampil Rolum[33] refers to a king called Dharmāditya as ruling over Bhavapura *(bhavapure=smin)* between A.D. 789 and 797. If the two expressions *hyut-ārccaṇīśvara* and *yajamānīśvara* occurring respectively in sts. X and XI of the inscription refer to the same personage the following genealogical table of the rulers of Bhavapura may be dressed :



The genealogy (and *pari passu* succession of kings) is clearly patrilineal. This inscription contains the multilated date 71 X of the Śaka era for Dharmāditya which is thus to be placed between A.D. 788 and 797. So the beginning of the reign of Dharmāditya may go back to *c*. A.D. 775 and by back calculation that of his grand-father with whom this royal family evidently started to *c*. A.D. 725 which, one may see, very probably falls within the reign period of Puṣkarākṣa. It may very well be that Śrīndrāditya was the father of Vedavatī but the point needs not be pushed too far. What is important to note is that around A D. 725 there was an independent kingdom of Bhavapura-Tchen-la of the Land and the royal family was patrilineal[34a]. The Sdok Kak Thom inscription also mentions a *kuruṅ* (i.e. lord) of Bhavapura as making a gift of land in the Indrapura-vijaya (i.e. *viṣaya*, district) to an ancestor of Śivakaivalya, the head of the matrilineal family of priests entrusted with the worship of Devarāja[31b]. Following the argument that exact relationship is indicated in Khmèr inscriptions only for two generations, it may be presumed that the receiver of the land-gift was someone farther away than the maternal grand-father of Śivakaivalya i.e. to say at a time not less than 75 years (3 generations of 25 years each) before Śivakavalya, which would be around A.D. 725. Apart from the two principal states, one founded by Bālāditya (and consolidated by Puṣkarākṣa) and the other presumbly by Śrīndrāditya, a number of petty principalities also flourished during the period. References to princes belonging to these will be made in the course of this study but the kingdoms or principalities over which they ruled are not named. However, the broad pattern of succession to these royalties is discernible.

II. THE DYNASTY OF ANINDITAPURA-ŚAMBHUPURA

It has been seen above that Puṣkarākṣa was regarded by later genealogists as a descendant of Bālāditya of Aninditapura (Prè Rup inscription). He is also described as being born in the illustrious family of the lord of Aninditapura (Práḥ Bàt inscription). It is generally assumed that he was a successor to Bālāditya and ruled over Aninditapura. But how could he be regarded as his natural successor ? He could connect himself with Bālāditya only through his paternal grandmother, a situation which in matrilineal society can not entitle him to succeed Bālāditya in the normal course of things. On the other hand, the Prè Rup inscription mentions Nṛpatīndravarman as his father but the latter has not been stated to have reigned nor is he known to have played any rôle in the political turmoil of the time which could have justified the accession of Puṣkarākṣa to the throne through his father. The seizure of power by Puṣkarākṣa cannot thus be justified by either patrilineal or matrilineal principle of succession. With regard to his acquisition of Śambhupura, Barth[35] and after him Coedès[36], thought that it was due to his marriage with a princess who was the inheritor to the king of Śambhupura. But it has been argued above that Puṣkarākṣa had possibly to contend with Śambhuvarman for the possession of Śambhupura i.e. Sambor-Kracèḥ region. It is therefore evident that Puṣkarākṣa was out and out a successful political adventurer. That Puṣkarākṣa was a very important king admits of no doubt. The two sets of genealogies contained in the inscriptions of Yaśovarman and

5

Rājendravarman II synchronize only in him. According to both, he was the brother of the mother's mother of the mother of Jayavarman II (A.D. 802-834)[37], the famous king who established the seat of his power on top of Mount Mahendra and with whom starts the Aṅkorian period of the history of Kambuja deśa.

The next king of Śambhupura to be mentioned after Puṣkarākṣa in the inscriptions of Yaśovarman is Rājendravarman I. The st. III of Práḥ Bàt inscription contains the following about him :
"*tad-vaṃśajo=vyādhapur-ādhirāja-santāna-sampādita-mātṛvaṃśaḥ*
rājendravarmm=eti guṇ-aikarāśir=avāpa yaś=śambhupure=pi rājyam[38]"
Barth supposed that a king of Śambhupura married a princess who was the inheritor to the sovereign of Vyādhapura and their son Rājendravarman I united this new kingdom with his paternal heritage of Śambhupura[39]. This view has been upheld by Coedès[40]. But an analysis of the stanza quoted above will indicate the following : First, Rājendravarman I belonged to the *vaṃśa* of Puṣkarākṣa. Secondly, it was a *mātṛvaṃśa* i.e. a family where descent and inheritance passed in the female line and marriage was likely to have been matrilocal. For the sake of emphasis it may be repeated that according to the Prè Rup inscription (st. VI) also Bālāditya's was a *mātṛvaṃśa.* Thirdly, this matrilineal family of Rājendravarman I was accomplished by a descendant *(santāna)* of the sovereign of Vyādhapura (=Bà Phnoṃ). In other words, a princess of the family of Puṣkarākṣa had for consort a prince of Vyādhapura. From the tenor of the inscription it seems probale that this princess was none else than the mother of Rājendravarman I who would thus be related to the ruling family of Vyādhapura through his father[41].

Though Rājendravarman I belonged to the matrilineal family of Puṣkarākṣa, the exact relationship existing between them has not been precisely indicated. He is simply stated to have been born in his family *(tadvaṃśaja)*. Such a lack of precision in the Cambodian context generally indicates a distance of more than two generations since first and second generation relationships (son/nephew and grand-son/grand-nephew) are usually mentioned as such in inscriptions. Whether there was a time-gap of two generations between Puṣkarākṣa and Rājendravarman I is worth considering. According to the genealogy contained in the inscriptions of Yaśovarman, Nṛpatīndradevī was the queen of Rājendravarman I. On the analogy of Jayadevī being the daughter of Jayavarman I, it could very well be that Nṛpatīndradevī was the daughter of Nṛpatīndravarman. It will indeed be fascinating to identify him with his namesake, the father of Puṣkarākṣa, as known from the

Prè Rup inscription. It will then follow that Rājendravarman I belonged to the family of Puṣkarākṣa only by marriage which was then evidently matrilocal. In that case Rājendravarman may be regarded as the immediate successor of his brother-in-law Puṣkarākṣa to the throne of Aninditapura and Śambhupura. However, a king called Nṛpatīndravarman is known from the inscriptions of Indravarman as the maternal grandfather of the mother of Indravarman which gives the following genealogy for Indravarman :

Nṛpatīndravarman $= Y^1$
↓
Rudravarman $= Y^2$
↓
Pṛthivīndravarman $= Y^3$
↓
Indravarman[42]

If the identity of Nṛpatīndravarman of the above table and Nṛpatīndravarman, the supposed father of Rājendravarman's wife be admitted, it will follow that Rājendravarman I married a sister of the wife of Rudravarman, the maternal grand-father of Indravarman.

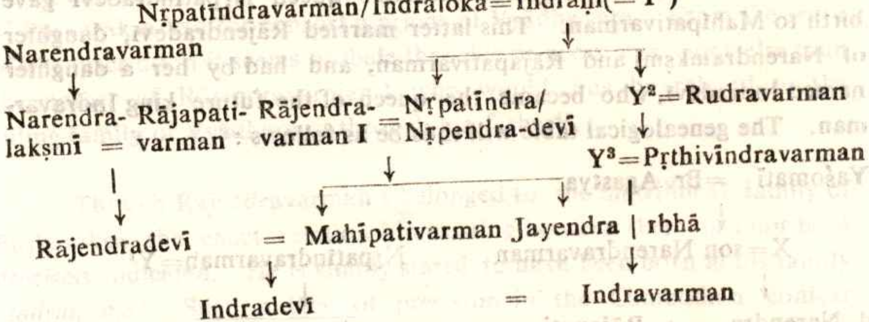
Again, from the genealogies contained in the inscriptions of Yaśovarman, it is learnt that Rājendravarman's queen Nṛpatīndradevī gave birth to Mahīpativarman. This latter married Rājendradevī, daughter of Narendralakṣmī and Rājapativarman, and had by her a daughter named Indradevī, who became the queen of the future king Indravarman. The genealogical table will thus be as follows :

Yaśomatī = Br. Agastya
↓
X = son Narendravarman — **Nṛpatīndravarman $= Y^1$**
↓ — ↓ ↓
d. Narendralakṣmī = Rājapativarman — **Rājendravarman = d. Nṛpatīndradevī** — **Y^2 = Rudravarman**
↓ — ↓ — ↓
d. Rājendradevī = Mahīpativarman — **Y^3 = Pṛthivīndravarman**
↓ — ↓
Indradevī = Indravarman

The Vat Tasar Moroi inscription of queen Jyeṣṭhāryā/*Kanheṅ Kamrateṅ ta Cpoṅ* (A.D. 803) brings to light the existence a line of kings ruling in the Sambor region during this period. Descent in the family is reckoned through females and it starts with a king called Indraloka which seems to be a *nom d'apothéose*. It contains the following genealogy :

Indraloka
↓
Nṛpendradevī
↓
Jayendra . . rbhā
↓
Jyeṣṭhāryā/*Kanheṅ Kamrateṅ ta Çpoṅ*[43].

Dupont thinks that queen Nṛpendradevī of this inscription is identical with Nṛpatīndradevī, wife of Rājendravarman I and mother of Mahīpativarman[44]. In that case Nṛpatīndravarman, maternal grand-father of the mother of Indravarman and Indraloka will be identical. It is indeed interesting to note that the Bakoṅ stèle inscription of Indravarman records the foundation of an idol of Indrāṇī erected for the spiritual benefit of the spouse of the king Indraloka[45]. It is thus certain that Indravarman was associated with a king called Indraloka through a female relation named Indrāṇī. It is thus very likely that Indraloka of the stèle inscription of Bakoṅ and that of Vat Tasar Moroi were identical. The genealogical table may then be dressed as follows :

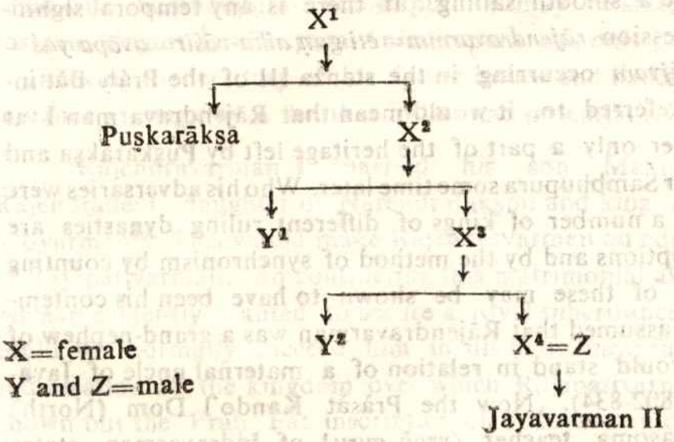

Nṛpatīndravarman/Indraloka = Indrāṇī(= Y^1)
Narendravarman
Narendra-lakṣmī = Rājapati-varman
Rājendra-varman I = Nṛpatīndra/Nṛpendra-devī
Y^2 = Rudravarman
Y^3 = Pṛthivīndravarman
Rājendradevī = Mahīpativarman
Jayendra | rbhā
Indradevī = Indravarman

It will be seen from the above that Rājendravarman I was only two generations away in the ascending female line from Indravarman (A.D. 877-889). Again, Indravarman was the daughter's son of the younger brother of the mother's mother (*mātṛ-jananyā=jaghanyaja)* of Jayavardhana-Jayavarman III, the son of Jayavarman II[46]. This would render Indravarman and Jayavarman III equal contemporaries and Jayavarman II would seem to be related to Indravarman through his wife and mother of Jayavarman III. They would be separated from each other by one generation. So, if Rājendravarman I was two generations away from Indravarman, it may be concluded that Rājendravarman I was one generation away in the ascending female line from Jayavarman II (A.D. 802-834) also.

Now, as has been stated earlier, Puṣkarākṣa was the maternal uncle of the maternal uncle of the mother of Jayavarman II.

In other words, Puṣkarākṣa was three generations away in the ascending female line from Jayavarman II. Therefore in every likelihood Puṣkarākṣa was separated by two generations in the ascending female line from Rājendravarman I.

The genealogical table will be as follows :



Now, to return to the question of succession of Śambhupura after Puṣkarākṣa. From the table above it is clear that Puṣkarākṣa had a nephew in Y^1 who in the matrilineal system of succession should have inherited the throne of Aninditapura-Śambhupura, but there is as yet no epigraphic evidence which mentions any prince as a nephew of Puṣkarākṣa. But in view of the fact that Nṛpatīndravarman-Indraloka was a noteworthy king mentioned in several inscriptions, both contemporary and later, and that being the possible father-in-law of Rājendravarman I, he was only one generation away in the ascending female line from the latter, Nṛpatīndravarman could have well been the nephew of and successor to Puṣkarākṣa. But at the present state of our knowledge the point should not be pressed too far. However, Nṛpatīndravarman-Indraloka may have succeeded Puṣkarākṣa in Śambhupura-Aninditapura, may be purely as a political adventurer, since on the basis of the evidence supplied by the Vat Tasar Moroi inscription (A.D. 803) he may be easily placed between (A.D. 730 and 755). He may have to contend with a king called Narendravarman, the maternal grand-father of Rājendradevī I, the queen of Mahīpativarman.

The next king to rule over Śambhupura-Aninditapura was Rājendravarman I who may be assigned the reign-period extending from A D 755 to 770. As shown above he could very well have been a grand-nephew and nephew respectively of Puṣkarākṣa and Nṛpatīndravarman-Indraloka. Further, he married Nṛpatīndradevī who has been supposed to have been a daughter of Nṛpatīndravarman-Indraloka. Thus, it is likely that Rājendravarman I combined in him the claim to the throne of Aninditapura-Śambhupura derived both from his mother and wife.

Nevertheless, the succession of Rājendravarman I does not appear to have been quite a smooth sailing. If there is any temporal significance in the expression *rājendravarmm=eti guṇ aika-rāśir=avāpa yaś=śambhupure=pi rājyam* occurring in the stanza III of the Práḥ Bàt inscription already referred to, it would mean that Rājendravarman I at first held sway over only a part of the heritage left by Puṣkarākṣa and was able to recover Śambhupura some time later. Who his adversaries were are not clear, but a number of kings of different ruling dynasties are known from inscriptions and by the method of synchronism by counting generations some of these may be shown to have been his contemporaries. If it be assumed that Rājendravarman was a grand-nephew of Puṣkarākṣa, he would stand in relation of a maternal uncle of Jayavarman II (A D. 802-834). Now the Pràsàt Kando'l Dom (North) inscription of Śivasoma, teacher *(vraḥ guru)* of Indravarman, states that Jayendrādhipativarman was a maternal uncle of Jayavarman II[47]. He is also described as a king. This would make Jayendrādhipativarman a contemporary king of Rājendravarman. Coedès, however, thinks that the appellation of king for Jayendrādhipativarman is an exaggeration[48], since his name does not figure in any of the genealogical lists discovered so far, but considering the very much unsettled political condition of the time when a multiplicity of states flourished in Tchenla of the Water, it is not impossible that Jayendrādhipativarman also ruled but over which kingdom we are condemned to remain ignorant. If he be regarded as the direct grand-nephew in the sister's line of Puṣkarākṣa, it would follow that it was he who had succeeded the nephew of Puṣkarākṣa (Nṛpatīndravarman-Indraloka?) at Śambhupura and it was by ousting him that Rājendravarman could capture power at Śambhupura, thus imparting a temporal significance to the st. III of the Práḥ Bàt inscription quoted above.

It appears that to consolidate his position, if not to further aggrandizement, he married Nṛpatīndradevī, Nṛpendradevī supposedly a daughter of king Nṛpatīndravarman, maternal grand-father of the mother of Indravarman (A D. 877-889) and possibly also called Indraloka. As already seen, king Nṛpatīndravarman might have been his maternal uncle as well. Whatever it may be, the effort of Rājendravarman I in annexing the kingdom of Nṛpatīndravarman was thwarted by another son-in-law of the latter viz. Rudravarman who is equally described as king in the Práḥ Bàt inscription (st. XIII). If Nṛpatīndravarman-Indraloka had actually ruled over the kingdom of Śambhupura and Aninditapura, this would mean that the kingdom was partitioned between his two sons-in-law. However, if Nṛpatīndravarman had nothing to do with Śambhupura-Aninditapura, it may be stated that Rājendravarman, king of Śambhupura-Aninditapura was only partially successful in annexing the territory of his father-in-law and had to suffer the continuance of reign by a brother-in-law and potential rival.

Rājendravarman I married his son Mahīpativarman with Rājendradevī, daughter of Narendralakṣmi and king (*narādhipa*) Rājapativarman[49]. This would make Rājendravarman an equal contemporary of Rājapativarman. In contracting this matrimonial alliance, Rājendravarman evidently wanted to secure a royal inheritance for his son who could not normally succeed him in his matrilineal family. The name and location of the kingdom over which Rājapativarman ruled are not known but the Práḥ Bàt inscription of Yaśovarman clearly states that Rājapativarman succeeded his father-in-law Narendravarman to the throne and thus derived his right through his wife. Indeed, the genealogical table given at p. 35 above, makes it quite clear that this ruling family was also matrilineal. So marrying his son Mahīpativarman with the daughter of Rājapativarman was a highly statesmanlike move on the part of Rājendravarman I.

The question of succession after Rājendra arman is also not clear. Reference has already been made to his son Mahīpativarman who has been described as king in the Práḥ Bàt inscription. It is not definitely known whether he ruled only over the kingdom of his father-in-law Rājapativarman or also sat on the throne of Śambhupura-Aninditapura. A contender for the throne of Śambhupura-Aninditapura, might have been Jayendrādhipativarman who, as seen above, could very well be in the relation of a brother or cousion of Rājendravarman. But if he at all reigned after Rājendravarman I, it must have been for a very short period. Theoretically the true claimants for the throne of Rājendravarman appear to have been his son-in-law and his nephew. As already seen, the combined evidence of the Vat Tasar Moroi and Práḥ Bàt inscriptions shows Jayendra...rbhā as the daughter of Nṛpendradevī-Narapatindradevī and Rājendravarman I and mother of Jyeṣṭhāryā who has been described as queen (*rājñī*, st. II)[50]. It would appear that the husband of Jayendra...rbhā was a son-in-law of king Rājendravarman I. As has already been stated, genealogical synchronism shows that Jayavarman II stood in the relationship of a nephew to Rājendravarman who ceased to rule in *c.* A.D. 770. Jayavarman II is traditionally credited to have commenced his rule as a sovereign (*cakravartin*) from A.D. 802 but did he rule even earlier ?

An inscription from the monument of Práḥ Thāt Práḥ Srei in the north-western side of Bêṅ Práḥ Pit in the *Khand* of Thboṅ Khmuṃ situated to the south of Kompoṅ Càm mentions a king named Jayavarman as ruling in A.D. 770[51]. Again, a Lbok Sro't inscription (north of Thboṅ Khmuṃ in the vicinity of Kracèḥ) dated in A.D. 781 mentions him as the reigning king[52]. There is another undated inscription from Tōol Kàk Pràsàt[53] issued equally by a king named Jayavarman and palaeographically assignable to the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. The provenances of these inscriptions indicate that this king controlled the region extending from Sambor-Kracèḥ to Kompoṅ Càm. He has been called by Coedès 'Jayavarman I bis' i.e. what may be put in English as Jayavarman I A[54], and at one time Coedès was inclined to identify him with Jayavarman II[55]. But later on he revised his opinion and considered him as an isolated figure[56]. But there is no serious chronological difficulty in assuming the identity of the two. If it be assumed that Jayavarman IA came to the throne at the age of 20 or 25 he will be 100 or 105 years of age in A.D. 850 which, according to the calculation made on the basis of information supplied by the Pràsàt Cak inscription[57], marked the end of the reign of Jayavarman II. There is nothing to wonder if a king was a centenarian or a little more. Actually from the later inscription of the temple of Maṅgalārtha at Aṅkor Thoṃ[58], we know that the chaplain lived for 104 years. If the identity of Jayavarman IA and Jayavarman II be admitted, it may be stated that Rājendravarman I was succeeded to the throne by his nephew. To reconcile with the information which can be inferred from the Vat Tasar Moroi inscription regarding the son-in-law of Rājendravarman I and Nṛpatindradevī and father of queen Jyeṣṭhāryā, it would then have to be concluded that Jayavarman I A/Jayavarman II was also probably a son-in-law of Rājendravarman I. If he was a nephew and son-in-law of Rājendravarman I, his claim to the throne of Śambhupura-Aninditapura would pass through both his mother and wife.

But against the supposed identity of Jayavarman IA and Jayavarman II, it may be stated that there is nothing to show that Jayavarman I^{A} actually reigned in the 9th century A.D. On the other hand, Jayavarman II in later epigraphic tradition is known to have reigned at Mt Mahendra in A.D. 802. Dupont has suggested that Jayavarman I^{A} could very well have been the husband of Jayendra rbhā. In view of his known dates it would then follow that Rājendravarman was immediately succeeded by his son-in-law to the throne of Śambhupura-Aninditapura. In view of the fact that he issued at least three inscriptions, he was more than a shadowy figure like Mahīpativarman, son of Rājendravarman I or Pṛthivīndravarman, father of Indravarman about whom the Práḥ Bàt inscription states that he was raised to the status of Kṣatriyas *(kṣatr-ānvay-āpt-odgates)*[59]. Though Pṛthivīndravarman has been called a king, he might not have ever reigned. In consideration of all these it is probable that in the late seventies and/or the early eighties of the 8th century when the déluge of the Javā invasion came, Jayavarman I^{A} was the proud Khmèr king to suffer decapitation at the hands of the Mahārājah of Zabag[60]. As stated in the Sdok Kak Thoṃ inscription, the future Jayavarman II, who was possibly a nephew of Rājendravarman I, either voluntarily submitted to the Mahārāja of Zabag or was defeated and taken prisoner by him. In any case he came to live in Javā. Long after the storm had passed off, he returned to Cambodia and settled in the region around Indrapura[61]. He had to wage a series of campaigns of pacification[62] against his adversaries one of whom might have been Pṛthivīndravarman, the father of the future king Indravarman. Finally, he felt himself powerful enough as to assume the status of *cakravartin* by the installation of the cult of Devarāja on Mt Mahendra in A.D. 802[63]. It may, however, be observed that the Vat Tasar Moroi inscription was issued by queen Jyeṣṭhāryā in A.D. 803 i.e. one year after the assumption of sovereign status by Jayavarman II. The problem may be solved by supposing that the date 802 is given in revolved year whereas the date 803 refers to the current year, thus making both the events take place in the course of the same calender year. It may be that shortly after Jyeṣṭhāryā had issued her inscription, she was overthrown by Jayavarman II. It is, however, more likely that to further legitimize his claim to the throne and to consolidate his position Jayavarman II married Jyeṣṭhāryā, the rightful heir to Jayavarman I^{A} and actually conferred upon her the title of chief queen, *Jyeṣṭhāryā* or *Kanheṅ Kamrateṅ ta Cpoṅ*. It has been pointed out that the Vat Tasar Moroi inscription does not contain an *ājñā* or royal ordinance. So she could very well be regarded as a queen in her capacity of the wife of a reigning king. According to Claude Jacques queen Jyeṣṭhāryā might have been sufficiently aged in A.D. 803. He further thinks that she could have belonged in some way or other to the royal family of Śambhupura and been a rival of Jayavarman II, who could afford to ignore her because no danger was apprehended from her[64].

It is noteworthy that almost all the genealogies of the period are traced in the female line and as such this insistence cannot just be lightly brushed aside as examples of desperate attempts at legitimization of claims by pretenders and adventurers. Indeed, matrilineal descent and succession should be accepted as the established norm even for the royalty in the ancient Khmèr country. It will be interesting to see if conditions remain unaltered in the Aṅkorian period the commencement of which is traditionally reckoned from A.D. 802 when Jayavarman II installed the Devarāja on Mt Mahendra and assumed sovereign power.

NOTES

1. Historians are nowadays more sceptic about the authenticity of the accounts of the division of Tchen-la into two kingdoms as given in the *Chiu T'ang-shu* (197, 2b) and *Hsin T'ang-shu* (222c, 3a), both compiled after the fall of the T'ang dynasty in A.D. 905. Thus Wolters believes that the Chinese discerned two geographical regions, one dry and the other wet, in lands occupied by the Khmèr speaking peoples and the Khmèr envoys might have at best told the Chinese that these two regions now happened to contain two big centres of political power (O.W. Wolters, North-Western Cambodia in the Seventh Century A.D., *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1974, 380). Since the present author is not a sinologist, he is in no position to be a partisan in this controversy. He accepts the traditional view of the division of Tchen-la into two kingdoms as described by the Chinese and also takes cognizance of the multiplicity of independent city-states of the time as mentioned in the Aṅkorian inscriptions.

In the course of this study of an extremely complicated period of Cambodian history of which little is known definitively, references have often to be made to earlier and later inscriptions, more or less simultaneously. To avoid confusion, it is advisable to have at the outset an idea of the epigraphic evidences in their totality for which see Adpendix I.

2. P. Pelliot, Deux intinéraires, B.E.F.E.O., vol. IV, p. 211.

3. Hervey St. Dénys, *Méridionaux*, p. 484.

4. The very description leaves no doubt that Tchen-la of the Water comprised what is now called Cochin-China but a more precise identification and determination of the extent of the two Tchen-las has been a thorny question. In 1904 G. Maspero identified Tchen-la of the Land with Śambhupura (modern Sambor on the Mékong in Kracèḥ) and Tchen-la of the Water with Vyādhapura supposed to be identical by Aymonior with Aṅkor Borĕi (*L' Empire Khmer*, p. 28). During the same year Pelliot (Deux Itinéraires, B.E.F.E.O.. vol. IV, p. 214) upheld the identifications. Aymonier, on his part, was not sure as to whether Śambhupura-Sambor was the centre of Tchen-la of the Land or of Water (*Le Cambodge*, vol. III, p. 459). In his review of Hirth and Rockhill'ts translation of *Tchou Fan-tche* of Chao-ju-kua (*Toung P'ao*, 1912, p. 467), Pelliot appeared to be less affirmative as to the site of the two Tchen–las, though he recognized that Wen-tan had to be situated in upper Cambodia. Bastian and after him Lefèvre-Pontalis sought to identify Wen-tan with Vien-chang/Vientiane on phonetic grounds (Wen-tan, *Toung P'ao*, 1914, p. 382). In 1918 G. Maspero revoked his earlier view and came to the conclusion that the capital of Tchen-la of the Land was situated in Middle Laos in the actual province of Cammon and therefore Wen-tan or Tchen-la of the Land had nothing to do with Śambhupura (Études d' histoire d' Annam : La frontière de l'Annam et du Cambodge du VIII^{e} au XIV^{e} siècle, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XVIII, p. 130). Coedès, on his part, has shown that Vyādhapura was probably identical with Bà-Phnoṃ rather than with Aṅkor Borĕi and was the capital not of Tchen-la of the Water but of the earlier state of Fou-nan (B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXVIII, p. 130). Recently Professor Claude Jacques has reminded us that the equivalence between old Khmèr *vnaṃ* (mod. *phnoṃ*) and *Fou-nan*, as proposed by Pelliot (Le Fon-nan, B.E.F,E.O., III, 1903, 302-3) and accepted by Coedès, is only a hypothesis unsupported by any evidence. He further points out that no Fou-nanese king has been explicitly called king of the mountain (*Annuaire de l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes*, IV^{e} Section, 1971-72, 609-610). As a matter of fact, he is sceptical about the suitability of such terms as Fou-nan and

Tchen-la as categories for Khmèr history (in addition to the reference given above see also, C. Jacques, The Reality Concealed by These Chinese Views of Indochina, *Early South East Asia*, ed. R. B Smith and W. Watson, 1979, New York/Kualampur, 374-77). This view has been further upheld by Wolters (North-Western Cambodia in the 7th Century A.D., *loc. cit*, 379, n 164). As will be shown in the course of this chapter both Bālāditya and Puṣkarākṣa, the earliest kings from whom descent was claimed by later Aṅkorian kings Yaśovarman and Rājendravarman II were associated with Aninditapura situated in the east of Aṅkor. Following the Karlgren system of pronunciation of ancient Chinese names Coedès has suggested that the name *Wen-tan* may correspond to a toponym beginning with *Mūla* and refer to the original centre or cradle of Kambuja power (Le site primitif du Tchen-la, B.E.F.E.O, vol. XVIII, pt 9, p. 1). He has actually noted the mention of the name *mūladeśa* in Khmèr epigraphy which, however, remains unidentified. A Pràsàt Khnà inscription also mentions a country called Mūlasthāna (B E F.E O, vol. XLIII, p. 11), which, phonetically speaking, may be identical with Wen-tan. Coedès believes that the name of the river Se Mun which flows through the plateau of K'orat may preserve the souvenir of the ancient name *mūladeśa/mūlasthāna* (A propos du Tchen-la d'eau: Trois inscriptions de Cochin-chine, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXXVI, p. 2). Bhavapura in the region of Pràsàt Ampil Rolum (I.C. VI, p. 101 f.) situated to the north of the Daṅrèk in all likelihood signified the capital of Tchen-la of the Land.

The view of Coedès that, Bhavapura was situated to the north of the Great Lake (Tonle Sap, *Les Etats Hindouisés d' Indochine et d' Indonésie*, 1964, 128), has been contested by some modern historians. Thus Claude Jacques thinks that the centre of the kingdom of Bhavapura was Sambor Prei Kuk, hitherto held to be identical with Īśānapura (Etudes d' Epigraphie Cambodgienne: VII. La carrière de Jayavarman II, B.E.F.E.O., LIX, 1972, 217 where he does not adduce any reason in support of his contention but assures us by saying that 'Je prépare un ouvrage sur l' histoire pré-Aṅgkorienne du pays khmer dans lequel ceci sera mis en evidence', n. 4). According to Wolters, Bhavapura in the 9th century might have signified a town situated to the east of Tonle Sap (Jayavarman II's Military Power, J.R.A.S., 1973, No. 1, 24). Earlier P. Lévy suggested that Bhavapura, the capital of Bhavavarman I of Tchen-la should be associated with Stung Treng in the Mékong (J.A., CCLVIII, 1970, Nos. 1-2, 122).

5. Vat Srè Beṅ (O-lam), K. 911, I.C., vol. V, p. 85.

6. *"āsīd=āsindhu-sīmā-sphūrita-yaśo—rāśi-sañcāra-rājad=*
rājya-śrī maṇḍit-āninditapura-vikasan-mātṛvaṅś-ādhipatyaḥ
somā-kauṇḍinya vaṅśyo=dadhad=anata-nṛpa-dvādaśāditya-diptiś=
śrī-vālāditya-bhūpo=valayam=iva bhuvo=maṇḍalam līlayā yaḥ".
—st. VI, I. C., vol. I, p. 78.

7. st. VI, I. C, vol. I, p. 163.

8. K. 263, A, st. V., I.C., vol. IV, p. 121.

9. st. VIII, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXV, p. 312=Finot, *Inscriptions d' Aṅkor*, p. 24.

10. *"svarggadvārapur-odito=pi jagatām=aiśaṃ padan=dīpayañ"*, *loc. cit.*

11. *loc. cit.*

12. Dupont is inclined to believe that Bālādityapura and Aninditapura were identical (La dislocation du Tchen-la etc., *loc. cit.*, p. 27). Coedès once believed that for the later genealogists Aninditapura designated the original kingdom of Bhavavarman I and his successors and what the Chinese called Tchen-la in the 6th and 7th

centuries A.D. (La tradition généalogique des premiers rois d'Añkor, B.F.F.E.O., vol. XXVIII, pp. 124, 132). It may, however, be observed that the name Aninditapura does not occur in any of the inscriptions of the Tchen-la period. As for Bālāditya, it may be stated that he had relations particularly with the south. These considerations have prompted Coedès to change his opinion and to consider Aninditapura as representing Tchen-la of the Water (A propos du Tchen-la d'eau : Trois inscriptions de Cochin-chine, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXXVI, p. 12). He thinks that Aninditapura was situated in the region east of Añkor and to the northern side of the Tonle Sap or the Great Lake.

With regard to the extent of the kingdom of Aninditapura which was divided into a number of *viṣayas* (administrative districts), Claude Jacques thinks that it certainly comprised the Añkor region and possibly extended to the North and North-West of the actual province of Battambang. It is, however, more difficult to indicate the exact location of the city of Aninditapura. From st. XXVII of the Bantāy Kdei inscription (K. 532, Face B, ll. 11-12, Finot, Incriptions d'Añgkor, B.E.F.E.O., XXV, 354) all that can be said is that Aninditapura has been grouped with Bhīmapura and Amoghapura and if there is any geographical order in the enumeration, it follows that Aninditapura was nearer to Amoghapura than to Yaśodharapura mentioned in st. XXV (Etudes d'Epigraphie Cambodgienne : VII. Sur l'emplacement du royaume d'Aninditapura, B.E.F.E.O., LIX, 199-201). In a subsequent study (La carrière de Jayavarman II, *ibid*, p. 219) he suggests, though without adducing any reason, that the temple at Ak Yum may represent the temple of Aninditapura mentioned in the Bantay Kdei inscription (K. 532).

13. K. 3, st. VIII, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXXVI, p. 8.

14. La dislocation du Tchen-la et la formation du Cambodge Añgkorien (VII^{e}—IX^{e} siècle), B.E.F.E.O., vol. XLIII, p. 37.

15. K. 259, I.C., vol. VII, p. 53.

16. A propos du Tchen-la d'eau : Trois inscriptions de Cochin-chine, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXXVI, p. 4.

17. *ibid.*, p. 6.

18. "*Śambhupur-āptarājyaḥ*", Práḥ Bàt inscription, st. II, I.S.C.C., No. XLIV, p. 364.

18a. A propos du Tchen-la d'eau : Trois inscriptions de Cochin-chine, *loc. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

19. *Les états hindouisés d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*, (ed. 1964), p. 162, n. 5.

20. Finot, Inscription of Práḥ Thāt Kvan Pir, B.E.F.E.O., vol. IV, p. 675.

21. I.S.C.C., Nos. XLIV-LV (Digraphic Inscriptions), st. II, p. 364 ; LXI (in proto-Nāgarī script only, the number of the stanza in which Puṣkarākṣa is mentioned varies between 2 and 3).

22. *loc. cit.*

23. *loc. cit.*

24. K. 904, st. II, I.C., vol. IV, p. 58.

25. *loc. cit.*

26. "*yasyāḥ puṇyaguṇasya mātṛ-jananī-bhrātus=tanujo=jitā-*
rāteś=śrī-nṛpatīndravarmā-nṛpates=śauryyeṇa śaurer=iva".

—st. IX, I.C., vol. I, p. 78.

27. According to the Eastern Bàrày stèle inscription of Jayadevī referred to earlier, Śobhājayā, the wife of Śaiva Śakrasvāmin, born in Madhyadeśa, was a daughter of king Jayavarman (*śobhājay-āhvayā sūnū rājñaḥ śrī-jayavarmmaṇaḥ*, st. IV,

I.C., vol. IV, p. 58). Neither she nor any of her descendants, if there had been any, is known to have contested the throne of Jayavarman I. It may be noted that earlier according to the Veal Kantel inscription (I.S.C.C., No. IV, sts. II & III, p. 30), the sister of the Tchen-la kings Bhavavarman and Citrasena-Mahendravarman was given in marriage to the Brāhmaṇa Somaśarman. The son born of this union was named Hiraṇyavarman. Though he was accorded the Kṣatriya family name-ending °*Varman*, he did not succeed to either of his maternal uncles, which in view of the wide prevalence of the matrilineal principle of succession could have been expected. In both these cases, the princess concerned is given in marriage to a Brāhmaṇa and might therefore have been debarred from the succession to the throne.

28. "Ces divers événements se situent dans un espace du temps très limité, on est tenté de les rapprocher du texte n° 17 et de croire que Puṣkarākṣa s'est proclamé roi du Cambodge à Śambhupura, sans y avoir droit, provoquant ainsi la sécession du pays".—*loc. cit.*, p. 29.

29. Inscription of the Temple of Bakoṅ, I.S.C.C., No. XXXVI, st. III, p. 306 = Inscription of Bàyàng, I.S.C.C., No. XXXVIII, st. IV, p. 315.

30. In his digraphic inscriptions and also in inscriptions rendered in the proto-Nāgarī script, *loc. cit.*

31. Dupont places Bālāditya "towards the beginning of the 6th century, if not earlier" (p. 27) and somewhat later, for the generation of Bālāditya he assigns A.D. 600-620 (p. 34, La dislocation du Tchen-la etc., *loc. cit.*).

32. Prè Rup inscription, st. XII, *loc. cit.*, p. 78.

33. K. 162, st. XI, I.C., vol. VI, 103.

34. Coedès thinks that Hiraṇyadāma, the elder brother of Devāditya was identical with his namesake, "the celebrated Brāhmaṇa whom Jayavarman II invited to institute the cult of Devarāja on Mt Mahendra" (I.C., vol. VI, p. 102).

34a. On the basis of the use of the rather uncommon name-ending °*āditya* by these rulers of Bhavapura on the one hand and by Bālāditya and Nṛpāditya on the other, it is tempting to presume some relationship between them. But it may be pointed out that the family of Bālāditya has been explicitly stated to be a *mātṛvaṃśa*, while the genealogy given in the Pràsàt Ampĭl Rolum inscription is patrilineal. Secondly, if Bālāditya, and more particularly Nṛpāditya, be associated with the kingdom of Bhavapra, it would follow that Bhavapura, Aṅkor region and the extreme southern part of Cambodia (Cochin-China) all formad part of one single state. But there are ample indications of extreme political fragmentation of the country during his reign-period.

34b. "*kuruṅ bhavapura oy prasāda bhūmi āy vijaya indrapura*", 3. 59-60, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XLIII, p. 87 = S.K.T., vol. II, p. 77.

35. "Puṣkarākṣa...qui était devenu, sans doute par mariage avec une princesse héritière, roi de Śambhupura...", I.S.C.C., p. 356.

36. A propos du Tchen-la d'eau : Trois inscriptions de Cochin-chine, B.E.F.E.O , vol. XXXVI, p. 12.

37. "*rajño = mahendra-giri-mūrddha-kṛtāspadasya*
mātuḥ sthiras = samiti mātula-mātulo = yaḥ"
Práḥ Bàt, st. II, I.S.C.C., No. XLIV, p. 364 ;
"*śṛṅge śrī-jayavarmmaṇaḥ kṛtavato = mahendra-śaile purīm*
mātur = mmātula-mātulo = tula-kulaś = śrī-puṣkarākṣo = nṛpaḥ"
—Prè Rup, st. IX, I.C., vol. I, p. 78.

38. *loc. cit.*, p. 364.

39. *loc. cit*, p. 356.

40. A propos du Tchen-la d'eau etc., *loc. cit.*, p. 12.

41. Vyādhapura (chinese To-mou) was the capital of Founan (I.C. II, 410, n. 5). After its conquest by the rulers of Tchen-la/Kambuja under Bhavavarman and his successors, as has already been seen, the legal or pretended successors of Rudravarman, the last known sovereign of Fou-nan at first shifted to Na-fu-na (Navanagara or Naravaranagara=Aṅkor Borĕi) and later possibly took refuge beyond the seas. In any case, it is difficult to conceive of the existence of an independent kingdom of Vyādhapura from the time of Īśānavarman. Taking advantage of the disturbed political condition of the country after, or in the closing years of, Jayavarman I, the kingdom might have been revived but so far no epigraphic evidence has come forth to connect any prince with the kingdom of Vyādhapura.

42. "*rājñī rāja-parampar=oditavatī śrī-rudravarmm-ātmajā*
rāja-śrī-nṛpatīndravarmmā-tanayā-jātā satī y=ābhavat
patnī śrī-pṛthivīndravarmmā-nṛpateḥ kṣatr-ānvay-āpt-odgates
=tasya bhūmipatis=suto=nṛpa-nato yas=śrīndravarmn-āhvayaḥ"
—Inscription of Bakoñ, st. III, I.S.C.C., No. XXXVI, p. 306=
Inscription of Bàyàng, st. IV, I S.C.C., No. XXXVII, p. 315.

43. K. 124, 11. 3-6 : "(*kanheṅ kamrateṅ*) *añ ta cpoṅ kvan kanheṅ kamrateṅ añ śrījayendra...rbhā* (*cau*) *kanheṅ añ śrīnṛpendradevī cau dvot vraḥ kamrateṅ añ śrīndraloka*", I.C., vol. III, p. 171. Given that *kanheṅ* (=*kanhyaṅ*) is an honorific for a princess (cf. Stèle inscriptions of Práḥ Einkosĕi and Pràsàt Koṃhús) and *cpoṅ* as identical with modern Khmèr *baṅ*, meaning elder brother or sister, the Khmèr titles mentioned i.e. *kanheṅ kamrateṅ añ ta cpoṅ* may be regarded as an exact translation of Jyeṣṭhāryā, the eldest princess.

44. La disclocation du Tchen-la etc., *loc. cit.*, p. 32.

45. "*Sa-līl-ālokanākalya-valāri-nayanāvalim*
indrāṇīm=indralokastha-mahiṣī-bhūtaye=karot"
—st. XXXII., I.C., vol. I, p. 33.

46. Práḥ Bàt inscription, sts XI-XIV, I.S.C.C., No. XLIV, p. 365.

47. "*mahendr-ādri-sthita-bhūpāla-mātulasya mahībhujaḥ*
yaś=śrī-jayendr-ādhipativarmmaṇas=tanay-ātmajaḥ"
—Southern door-pillar, st. XXX, I.C., vol. I, p. 39.

48. *ibid*, p. 36, n. 3.

49. Práḥ Bàt inscription, sts VI and VII, *loc. cit.*, p. 364.

50. *loc. cit.*, p. 172.

51. K. 134, st. II, I.C., vol. V, p. 34.

52. K. 134, st. I, I.C., vol. II, p. 92 :
"*śrī-jayavarmmaṇi nṛpatau śāsati pṛthvīṃ samudra-paryyantām*
brahma-kṣatr-āṅśa-bhave nata-nṛpa-dhṛta-śāsane nityam".

The passage is important for two reasons. First, though the inscription has been found some 40 Km. to the North-East of Kracĕḥ, the territory of the king is said to have extended upto the seas, thereby highlighting the importance of the king issuing the inscription. Secondly, the king is said to have portions of Brahma and Kṣatra. In other words, he claims to be what was known from Indian inscriptions as the Brahma-Kṣatriya caste. Coedès takes the expression to mean that the king incarnated portions of Brahman and Kṣatra. This translation is little satisfactory but Coedès has rightly pointed out the import of the expression *brahma—kṣatr-āṅśa-bhave* (I.C., vol. I, p. 93, n. 9).

53. (i) K. 126, I.C., vol. VII, p. 339 and (ii) K. 131, B.E.F.E.O., vol. IV, p. 741.

54. *Les états hindouisés d' Indochine et d' Indonésie*, ed. 1964, p. 178, n. 4.

55. Les capitales de Jayavarman II, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXVIII, p. 119.

56. A propos du Tchen-la d'eau, *loc. cit*, p. 10, n. 9.

57. At the time of the publication of the Lbok Srot inscription of A.D. 781 (B.E.F.E.O., V, 419) Coedès believed that Jayavarman II ruled upto 791 S=A.D. 869. Hence he thought that king Jayavarman mentioned in the Lbok Srot inscription should refer to a different king; otherwise it would have to be assumed that at the time the inscription was published he had been ruling for ninety years and so must have been at least 110 years of age, and this was hardly likely. Coedès therefore called the king Jayavarman IA. But in 1928 Coedès held the view that Jayavarman II's reign ended in A.D. 850. He was then ready to admit that king Jayavarman of the Lbok Srot inscription whose kingdom extended as far as the seas *pṛthvīṃ samudra-paryyantāṃ* and Jayavarman II were identical. He actually emphasized that even before Jayavarman II came to rule over Mount Mahendra in 724 Ś =A.D. 824 he had his earlier capitals at Indrapura Hariharālaya and Amarendrapura (Les capitales de Jayavarman II, B.E.F.E.O., XXVIII, 117). But once again Coedès discarded his view regarding identity of Jayavarman II and Jayavarman IA in 1936 (A propos du Tchen-la: Trois inscriptions de Cochin-chine, B.E.F.E.O., XXXVI, 10, n. 9) because of the discovery of auother inscription dated in 692 Ś= A.D. 770 (Práḥ Thāt Práḥ Srei, K. 103, I.C., V. 33). Since this would make Jayavarman II ruling from A.D. 770 upto A.D. 850, i.e., for 80 years, he would at least be a centenarian at the time of his death. But as shown in the text, there is nothing inherently improbable in it, and at a later period Maṅgalārtha is known to have died at the age of 104 years.

However, the end of the reign of Jayavarman II may be lowered by some 16 years and Jayavarman III might have ascended the throne in *c.* A.D. 834. Though the inscription of Tûol Tà Pêc (K. 834) states that Jayavarman III came to the throne in 772 Ś=A.D. 850, (*dvandvādrigirirā jyastha*, st. LXXXVII, I.C., V,255), the evidence is of little worth in view of the fact that the dates in this inscription have been effaced and then overwritten deliberately. Further the Pràsât Cak inscription (K. 521, Southern door-pillar) contains the following: "*772 śaka gi vraḥ pāda śrī jayavarmmadeva stāc dau viṣṇuloka ta rājaputra vraḥ pāda parameśvara vraḥ-i-vrai slā anin sve (y) ehnāṃ tap pramvāy* ..." (I.C., IV, 168). This has been taken by Coedès to mean that Jayavarman III ascended the throne in A.D. 850 at the age of only sixteen. But Claude Jacques points out that it may also be taken to signify that in A.D. 850 Jayavarman III had been reigning for sixteen years. In that case he came to the throne in A.D. 834. Thus the possibility of identity of the issuers of the inscriptions of Pràsàt Thāt Práḥ Srei, K. 103 and Lbok Sro't, K. 134 with Jayavarman II becomes further strengthened. (C. Jacques, Etudes d' épigraphie cambodgienne: VIII, La carrière de Jayavarman II, B.E.F.E.O., LIX, 217-218; see also O. W. Wolters, Jayavarman II's Military Power: The Territorial Foundation of the Aṅgkor Empire, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, [abbv. J.R.A.S.] 1974, 27).

58. K. 488, East, st. XVIII:

"*jīvan=varṣa-śataṃ jñāni catur-varṣādhikaṃ yamī*"—

Inscription d' Aṅgkor, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXV, p. 398.

59. Bàyàng inscription, st. IV, I.S.C.C., No. XXXVIII, p. 315.

60. G. Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulayman* (Paris, 1922, *Classique de l' Orient*, vol. VII), p. 98-102. It has been pointed out that Sulayman was not surely the author of the account (cf. J. Sauvaget, *Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde*, Paris, 1948, p. XIX ff). The complement to this *Relation* where occurs the episode regarding the Khmèr king had for author Abu-Zayd of Siraf. As for the date of this invasion by the Maharājā of Zabag, this can be inferred from two inscriptions of Campā viz. Po Nagar stèle inscription (A.D. 774) and Yang Tikuḥ inscription of A.D. 799, sts. VI—VII, I.S.C.C , No. XXII, p. 213.

61. "*man vraḥ pāda parameśvara mok aṃvi javā pi kuruṅ ni*
anau nagara Indrapura". 3.61, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XLIII, p. 87=S.K.T. II, 81;
"*(indra)-purākhye nagare rāj=āsīt parameśvaraḥ*
saṃśāstā manuvad=vuddhvā dharmmyā=llokān=upāyataḥ"—
Stèle of Pàlhàl, I.K., No. 158, st. IV, p. 412.

62. Stèle of Saṃroṅ, K. 956, 11. 14-15, I.C., vol. VII, p. 130. The very frequent change of capitals by Jayavarman II, as recorded in the Sdok Kak Thoṃ inscription, should be interpreted in the light of his campaigns against his adversaries.

63. cf. The date of accession of Jayavarman II, *Journal of the Greater India Society* (abb. J.G.I.S.), vol. X (1943), p. 52.

64. Il n'est pas invraisemblable d'imaginer une reine, probablement assez âgée, appartenant d'une facon ou d'une autre à la famille royale de Śambhupura—dont on ne retrouve pourtant aucun nom connu dans la généalogie que l'on nous donne—plus ou moins opposante au nouveau régime, mais negligée par celui-ci parce qu'elle ne représentait pas un vrai danger peut-être. Cette reine fait une donation à un sanctuaire mais en raison même de son opposition elle fait le silence sur le nouveu roi, usurpateur à ses yeux", (Etudes d'épigraphie cambodgienne : VIII. La carrière de Jayavarman II, *loc. cit.*, p. 218).

APPENDIX

It is felt that comprehension of the events of this troubled period will be easier with a knowledge of the regional repartition and summary of relevant informations from inscriptions bearing upon the period of the division of Tchen-la into Tchen-la of the Land and Tchen-la of the Water and of the early Aṅkorian epoch.

The list given below is essentially after P. Dupont's La dislocation du Tchen-la et la formation du Cambodge aṅkorien (B.E.F.E.O., vol. XLIII, pp 18-22) with additions and modifications made necessary as a result of discovery of new materials and/or new interpretations of facts already known.

I. *Group of inscriptions from Cochin-China.*

1. Thap-muoi. K. 7.—Coedès, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXXVI, p. 4. The *Kamrek Kamratāñ añ Śambh(u)varmmadeva* erects a *Vraḥ Kamratāñ añ* Śrī Puṣkarākṣadeva. The date reckoned in Śaka era has disappeared.

2. Thap Muoi. K. 6—Coedès, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXXVI, p. 6. The godhead called *Vraḥ Kamratāñ añ* Śrī Puṣpavaṭasvāmin is made co-participant (*saparibhoga*) of the foundation with Śrī Puṣkarākṣa. The inscription bears no date.

3. Nui Ba-thê. K. 3, st. VII—Coedès, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXXVI, pp. 7-8. Śaiva foundation by one Kumārambha for the spiritual benefit of Śrī Nṛpāditya (*Śrī-nṛpādityasya puṇyārthā*). The inscription is undated.

4. Vat Srè Beṅ (O-lam). K. 911.—Coedès, I.C., vol. V, p. 85. Mention is simply made of a king (*Vraḥ pāda*) Śrī Bālāditya. The inscription is undated.

II. *Group of inscriptions from Northern Cambodia.*

5. Práḥ Thāt Kvan Pir (Kracèḥ). K. 121.—Finot, B.E.F.E.O., vol. IV, p. 675 (=*Notes d' Epigraphie*, p. 104) —Puṣkara erects an image of Śrī Puṣkareśa in Śaka 638 (*śākendre vasu-dahana-rasair*)=A.D. 716.

6. Lobo'k Srot (Kracêḥ). K. 134.—Coedès, I.C., vol. II, pp. 92-94. Installation of a god under the vocable Śrī Siddheśvaradeva by Jayavarman I in Śaka 703 (*Dahanāmbara-muni-lakṣya śāke*, st. IV)= A.D. 781.

7. Práḥ Thāt Práḥ Srei (Thboṅ Khmuṃ). K. 103—Coedès, I.C., vol. V, pp. 33-34. Foundation by Jayavarman I$^{\text{A}}$ in the revolved Śaka year 692 (*dvi-nav-artu-gate śāke*, st. I)=A.D. 770.

8. Sambor (Kracêḥ), K. 131.—B.E.F.E.O., vol. IV, p. 741; Coedès, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXXVI, p. 10. Mention of Jayavarman I$^{\text{A}}$. Without date.

9. Vat Tasar Moroy (Kracèḥ), K. 124.—Coedès, I.C., vol. III, pp. 171-172. Queen (*rājñī*) Jyeṣṭhāryā also called *Kanheṅ Kamrateṅ ta Cpoṅ.* is the author of the inscription. She is the daughter of the princess (*kanheṅ*) Jayendra . rbhā, grand-daughter of the princess Nṛpendradevī and great grand-daughter of *Vraḥ Kamrateṅ añ* Śrīndraloka. The inscription is dated in Śaka 725=A.D. 803.

10. Pràsàt Ampil Rolum (Koṃpoṅ Thoṃ), K. 162, northern door-pillar. —Coedès, I.C., vol. VI, pp. 103-104. Mention is made of three kings viz., Devāditya, Indrāditya and Dharmāditya. Dharmāditya at least ruled at Bhavapura (st. XI) in Śaka year 71X(-[*ca*]*ndra-śūla-gaṇite śakābde*, st. IX). Hiraṇyadāma is mentioned as the brother of Devāditya.

III. *Inscriptions of Aṅkor.*

11. Stèle found in the Eastern Bàrày (Siem Rāp.), K. 904.-Coedès, I.C., vol. IV., pp. 58-60. Śobhājayā is the daughter of the deceased king Jayavarman I-Śivapura and wife of the Brāhmaṇa Śakrasvāmin. Śobhājayā, in concert with Jayadevī, the reigning queen, founds a Śiva-Tripurāntakeśvara. Queen Jayadevī, whose relationship with king Jayavarman is not indicated, complains of the wickedness of the time. The inscription is dated in A.D. 713.

12. Vat Khnát (Siem Rāp.), K. 259, Southern door-pillar, Text III and IV.—Coedès, I.C., vol. VII, pp. 52-53. It is an ordinance (*ājñā*) of queen Jayadevī who makes some gifts of land to Lokanātha (-Viṣṇu). Mention is made of Jayavarman (I) whose daughter (*padmālay-eva jaladher*, South, I. 33) Jayadevī appears to have been. Reference has been made to the very cordial relation existing between King Nṛpāditya (*girīśabhaktasya prakhyātaguṇa-sampadaḥ*, South, 1.34) and Jayadevī who appears to have equally honoured the *guru* of the former.

IV. *Inscriptions of Indravarman.*

13. (a) Foundation-stèles of Práḥ Kô, K. 713, 799-877. Coedès, I.C., vol. I, p. 11 ff.
   (b) Bakoṅ, K. 826, 803/881.—Coedès, *ibid.* p. 31 ff.
   (c) Phnoṃ Báyáng, K. 14, Southern door-pillar, Barth and Bergaigne, I.S.C.C., No. XXXVIII, p. 312 ff.
   (d) lintels of Práḥ Kô, K. 310 and K. 317, 801/879.—*ibid.*, No. XXXVI, p. 297 ff.
   (e) door-pillars of Bakoṅ, K. 304-308, 801/879—*ibid*, N XXXVII, p. 310 ff.

These texts vary greatly in their extent but contain many identical stanzas. The table of concordance is given in Coedès, I.C., vol. I, p. 17, n. 1.

st. III. Indravarman's accession to the throne in 799/877. st. IV. His mother, born in a family where kings succeeded one another *(rāja-parampar-oditavatī)*, had for father Śrī Rudravarman, maternal grand-father the king Śrī Nṛpatīndravarman and for husband the king Śrī Pṛthivīndravarman who was born of a *kṣatriya* family or given the status of a Kṣatriya *(kṣatr-ānvay-āpto-dgates)*.

14. Separate text of the foundation-stèle of Bakoṅ, K. 826. It contains details regarding certain sanctuaries around the pyramid and consecrated to the ancestors of Indravarman.

st. XXX. An image of Viṣṇusvāmī was erected in honour of Jayavarman III-Viṣṇuloka.

st. XXXII. An idol of Indrāṇī was established for the spiritual benefit of the wife (also called Indrāṇī ?) of the king Indraloka.

15. Inscriptions of the door-pillars of Práḥ Kô, K. 311-316, 801/879.—Analysis given by Aymonier, *Le Cambodge*, vol. II, p. 475 ff. Precision regarding the titular divinity of each temple :

Row I. Northern temple : Śrī Rudreśvara (Rudravarman)
—Central ,, : Śrī Parameśvara (Jayavarman II)
—Southern ,, : Śrī Pṛthivīndreśvara (Pṛthivīndravarman)

Row II. Northern temple : Name disappeared (Rudradevī ?)
—Central ,, : Śrī Dharaṇīndradevī (spouse of Jayavarman II ?)
—Southern ,, : Śrī Pṛthivīndradevī (spouse of Pṛthivīndravarman)

V. *Inscriptions of Yaśovarman.*

16. Inscription of Práḥ Kô. 815 Śaka=A.D. 893. Coedès, *loc. cit.*, p. 32 ff. Engraved on the back of the stèle of Indravarman I. Foundations made for the benefit of the temples of Parameśvara (Jayavarman II) and Śrī Pṛthivīndreśvara (Pṛthivīndravarman).

17. Inscriptions on the door-pillar of Lolei, K. 324-332, 815/893. Analysis given by Aymonier, *Le Cambodge*, vol. II, p. 451 ff. Precision regarding the titular deity of each temple :

Row I. Northern temple : Śrī Indravarmeśvara (Indravarman).
—Southern ,, : Śrī Mahīpatīśvara (Mahīpativarman).

Row II. Northern temple : Śrī Indradevī (spouse of Indravarman).
—Southern ,, : Śrī Rājendradevī (spouse of Mahīpativarman).

18. Digraphic inscriptions commemorating the foundations of the Yaśodharāśrama. Provenances : Phnom Práh Bàt, K. 95 ; Pràsàt Tà Śiev, K. 323 ; Práḥ Kô, K. 309 ; Pràsàt Buos, K. 346 ; Práḥ Thāt Práḥ Srei, K. 101 ; Práḥ Thāt Khtoṃ, K. 110 ; Vat Hà, K. 57 ; Vat

Kandàl, K. 47 ; Práḥ Oṅkàr, K. 42 ; Kuhā Práḥ, K. 45 ; Huei Thá Mô, K. 362. Date, wherever figures are legible, is 811/889, Barth and Bergaigne, I.S.C.C., Nos. XLIV-LV, p. 346 ff. These contain the genealogy of Yaśovarman.

st. II—Śrī Puṣkarākṣa, a descendant *(vaśṃajāta)* of the lord of Aninditapura acquires the kingdom of Śambhupura *(Śambhupur-āptarājya)*. He is the maternal uncle of the maternal uncle of the mother of Jayavarman II.

st. III—Rājendravarman I was a descendant *(tadvṃśaja)* of Puṣkarākṣa and king at Śambhupura. His matrilineal family was accomplished by a descendant *(santāna)* of the sovereign of Vyādhapura *(Vyādhapur-ādhirāja-santāna-sampādita-mātṛvaṃśaḥ)*.

st. IV—(Rājendravarman I) has Nṛpatīndradevī as wife and the king Mahīpativarman as son.

st. V—Again, the Brāhmaṇa Agastya came from Āryadeśa and married the princess Yaśomatī.

st. VI—The son of Agastya and Yaśomatī was the king Narendravarman who was the father of Narendralakṣmī.

st. VII—The latter was given in marriage to Rājapativarman and Rājendradevī was their daughter.

st. VIII—This princess became the wife of Mahīpativarman and Indradevī was their daughter.

sts. IX-X—On the other hand, Jayavarman III-Jayavardhana was the son of Jayavarman II.

st. XI—The younger brother of the mother's mother *(mātṛjananyā = jaghanyaja)* of Jayavarman III was Rudravarman.

st. XII—The sister's son of Śrī Rudravarman was the king Śrī Pṛthivīndravarman.

st. XIII—Rudravarman married the daughter of Śrī Nṛpatīndravarman and had by her a daughter "who was the rising moon in the sky of this race of kings" *(rājanya-vaṃśāmbara-candralekhā)*[1].

st. XIV—Śrī Pṛthivīndravarman married the daughter of Śrī Rudravarman and begot Śrī Indravarman as son.

st. XVI—Indravarman and Indradevī had Yaśovarman as son.

19. Foundation-stèle of Lolei, K. 323, 811/889. —Barth and Bergaigne. I.S.C.C., no. LV, p. 391 ff. It reproduces the informations

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[1] The text does not contain the word *kṣatriya* which Barth fortuitously introduces in his translation (I.S.C.C., p. 370) and the mistake has been repeated by Dupont (*loc. cit.*, p. 21).

contained in No. 18, enumerates the four divinities mentioned in No 17 and dedicates the temple to Indravarman under the vocable Indravarmeśvara.

VI. *Inscriptions of Rājendravarman II (A.D. 944-968).*

20. Foundation-stèle of Prè Rup. K. 806, 866/944. —Coedès, I C., vol. I, p. 73 ff.

st. VI. There was a king named Bālāditya who was a descendant of Kauṇḍinya and Somā.

st. VII—His sister had a daughter called Sarasvatī who married the Brāhmaṇa Viśvarūpa.

st. VIII—This Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriyā had as their descendant *(vrahma-kstriyayor—vvaṅśe··jātā)* Vedavatī who became the wife of Dvivedabhaṭṭa.

st. IX—The brother of the mother of the mother of Vedavatī was king Nṛpatīndravarman, the father of Puṣkarākṣa. The latter again was the maternal uncle of the maternal uncle of the mother of Jayavarman II.

st. X—Foundation of a *liṅga* by Bālāditya at Svargadvārapura and other cities.

st. XI—In the family of Vedavatī which was a family of kings *(avani-pāla-vaṅśa-paramparāyām)* was born Mahendradevī.

st. XII—In the family of the father of Vedavatī, Śrī Mahendravarman was born.

st. XIII—Rājendravarman II was the son of Mahendravarman and Mahendradevī.

st. XIV—The family of Viśvarūpa (and Sarasvatī) and that of Dvivedabhaṭṭa and his wife are implied to be identical and reference to kings born in their lineage *(tad-anvaye)* has been made.

st. XVII—Rājendravarman's father is stated to be the lord *(īśvara)* of Bhavapura.

st. CCLXXIX—An image of Viśvarūpa was installed (at Prè Rup).

st. CCLXXX—King Harṣavarman II's mother Jayadevī was a sister of Mahendradevī

st. CCLXXXI—Harṣavarman II is called a younger brother *(anuja)* of Rājendravarman II[1].

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[1] Dupont believes that st. C of this inscription records the marriage of Jayavarman II-Parameśvara with a daughter of the mountain (*loc cit.*, p. 22) but the text does not contain any thing like that.

21. Foundation-stèle of Baksei Camkroṅ, K. 286, 869/947.—Coedès, I.C., vol. IV, p. 89 ff.

st. XXIII—Jayavarman III was the son (*ātmaja*) of Jayavarman II (st. XIX).

st. XXIV—The son of the maternal uncle of Jayavarman III was Indravarman[1].

22. Foundation-stèle of Eastern Mébon. K. 528, 874/952—Finot, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXV, p. 309 ff.=*Inscriptions d' Aṅkor*, p. 21 ff.

st. VIII—Bālāditya, descended from Kauṇḍinya and Somā, ruled at Aninditapura.

st. IX—He founded a *liṅga* at Svargadvārapura.

st. X—Sarasvatī, the daughter of his sister married Viśvarūpa.

sts XI-XII—In this race (*tadvaṅśa-kṣīra-sindhoḥ*) was born Mahendradevī who became the wife of Mahendravarman, a son of the king of (Bhava) pura *(...purādhīśa-vaṃśātmaja)*. The restitution is guaranteed in the light of st. XVII of No. 20 above).

VII. *Inscriptions of various dignitaries.*

23. Stèle of Pràsàt Kando'l Dom (North). K. 809, 80 × Śaka i.e. between A.D. 878 and 887. —Coedès, I.C., vol. I, p. 38 ff.

st. XXX—Śivasoma, the *guru* of Indravarman, was the grandson of king Jayendrādhipativarman (*yaś=śrī jayendrādhipativarmmaṇas=tanay-ātmajaḥ*)[2], maternal uncle of Jayavarman II.

24. Stèle of Práḥ Einkosei. K. 263, 890/968 and 892/970.—Coedès, I.C., vol. IV, p. 120 ff ; replica in stèle of Pràsàt Komphu's, K. 669, 854/972. —Coedès, I.C., vol. I., p. 162 ff. The two inscriptions are concerned with two sanctuaries at Dvijendrapura/ī and Madhuvana, founded by the Brāhmaṇa Divākarabhaṭṭa who passed his childhood on the banks of the Kālindī and was the son-in-law of king Rājendravarman II.

st. V—Bālāditya, a descendant of Kauṇḍinya and Somā, ruled at Aninditapura.

st. VI—He hailed from Svargadvārapura. The sts V and VI of Práḥ Einkosei respectively correspond to sts VI and VII of Pràsàt Komphu's.

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[1] Dupont thinks that Indravarman was the son of the maternal uncle of Jayavarman II (*loc. cit.*, p 22) but the mention of Jayavarman III before the introduction of the name of Indravarman makes it little likely.

[2] Dupont (*loc. cit.*) is again mistaken in holding Śivasoma as the son of Jayendrādhipativarman.

VIII. *Inscriptions of doubtful origin.*

25. Stèle of Lovêk, K. 136. undated. —Barth and Bergaigne, I.S.C.C., No. XVII, p. 122 ff.—records the religious foundations of the family of Saptadevakula.

st. VII—Punnāgavarman is the son of Rudravarman and Narendralakṣmī. A descendant of this couple was in the employ of Jayavarman II.

CHAPTER IV

THE EARLY AŇKORIAN PERIOD (A.D. 802-1050)

During the period under review two terms viz. *kaṃtvan* and *garbheśvara* have been used in inscriptions which rather point to the principle of royal succession. The first of these is actually known to have formed part of the official royal titles but the other was less formal occurring only in banal eulogies of kings. With regard to the first, Coedès once held that the title *kamrateṅ kaṃtvan* is not found in epigraphy before the time of Sūryavarman I[1]. But later Coedès himself has pointed out the use of the expression *kamrateṅ kaṃtvan* in earlier inscriptions as well. Thus the Tûol Pràsàt inscription of the time of Jayavīravarman uses the title to signify Yaśovarman-Paramaśivaloka[2]. Again, a Vat Saṃroṅ inscription which mentions Īśānaraman II by his posthumous name of Paramarudraloka refers to Jayavarman II as *kamrateṅ kaṃtvan añ*[3]. Indeed the word *kaṃtvan* appears in pre-Aṅkorian inscriptions in the form of *kaṃton* in connexion with private individuals[4]. The occurrence of the word in pre-Aṅkorian inscriptions has compelled Coedès to revise his earlier view that the word *kaṃtvan* was derived from old Malay *tuan* meaning master since contact of Khmèr with Malay was likely to occur appreciably only from the Aṅkorian period. He thinks that the word was probably derived from the base *tvan* out of which is formed the modern Khmèr *don* (grand-mother, honorific used for females)[5]. However, it may be recalled that the contact of the Khmèrs with the Malayan world goes back to the days of the Founanese sovereign Fan Che-man. As such, it is not altogether impossible that there took place a semantic fusion. The Khmèr *don* (grand-mother i.e., an elderly lady) exercised the same authority as the Malay *tuan*. *Kaṃtvan* may then very well signify somebody exercising authority by virtue of descent in the maternal line.

As to the expression *garbheśvara*, it has been applied to describe Jayavarman III[6], Yaśovarman[7], Harṣavarman I[8], Rājendravarman II[9] and Jayavarman V[10]. It has been translated as 'born sovereign'[11] 'sovereign from birth'[12] and 'sovereign by virtue of birth'[13] by Finot, Coedès and Claude Jacques respectively. Indeed the expression may mean either (i) *īśvara* or lord by virtue of birth or (ii) *īśvara* since conception. The second acceptation differs from the first in this that to be regarded as such one's parents have to be actually ruling at the time the conception was effected. In Indian Sanskrit literature when the term occurs, it is generally used in the second acceptation proposed above. Thus the *Śukanāśopadeśa* section of *Kādambarī* contains the following passage : *garbheśvaratvam=abhinava-yauvanatvam-apratima - rūpatvam-amānuṣa-śaktitvaṃ c=eti mahat=īyam khalv=anartha-paramparā*.[14] Here the expression *garbheśvara* has been explained as *garbhāt prabhṛti, garbha-sambhavād=ārabhy=eśvaratvaṃ dhanasampannatā* The passage *prāpt-aiśvaryyo=bhayan=mūḍho=garbheśvaratay=ānyathā* occurring in *Rājataraṅginī*[15] is, however, not clear as to its proper significance. From what has been stated above it will be clear that while the indigenous Khmèr word *kaṃtvan* lays emphasis on the matrilineal character of transmission of power, the Sanskrit term *garbheśvara* is not precise on this point. It is, however, possible to surmise that those rulers for whom claim to the throne has been preferred through females used *kaṃtvan* as part of their royal titles, while the Sanskrit term has been used for such princes who inherited the throne in patrilineal succession. When both these terms are used, albeit in different inscriptions, to designate the same prince, as is the case with Yaśovarman, it may be that his claim to the throne could be justified by operation of both the principles of succession, patrilineal and matrilineal. Let us see if such an interpretation is generally tenable so far as the rulers of the early Aṅkorian period beginning from Jayavarman II (A.D. 802-850) and ending with Sūryavarman I (A.D. 1002-1050) are concerned.

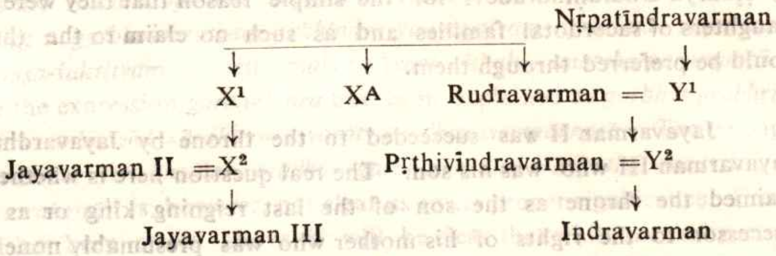
It has already been seen that Jayavarman II could claim the throne of Śambhupura-Aninditapura by virtue of his descent in the maternal line of Puṣkarākṣa who was the maternal uncle of the maternal uncle of the mother of Jayavarman II. In this way, he could have been a nephew (sister's son) of Rājendravarman I. It has also been suggested that Jayavarman II married the queen Jyeṣṭhāryā who was probably the the heiress to Jayavarman IA. With regard to Jayavarman II's claim to the throne through his wife, it may, however, be noted that on the analogy of Śrī Pṛthivīndradevī being the spouse of Śrī Pṛthivīndravarman, father of Indravarman, the juxtaposition of the names of divinities of the central temple of the first row at Práḥ Kô i.e., Śrī Parameśvara (deified form of Jayavarman II) and of the central temple of the second row at Práḥ Kô i.e., Śrī Dharaṇīndradevī[16], suggests that Dharaṇīndradevī was the officially proclaimed chief queen of Jayavarman II. On the basis of the assertion that Jyeṣṭhāryā was a title corresponding to Khmèr *kanheṅ kamrateṅ añ ta cpoṅ*, it is possible to suggest that Jyeṣṭhāryā and Dharaṇīndradevī were identical, the latter being her personal name. It should in this connexion be remembered that

Cambodian epigraphy knows of at least two other *agramahiṣī* or chief queens of Jayavarman II[17], but none of them can be identified with Jyeṣṭhāryā-Dharaṇīndradevi for the simple reason that they were the daughters of sacerdotal families and as such no claim to the throne could be preferred through them.

Jayavarman II was succeeded to the throne by Jayavardhana-Jayavarman III who was his son. The real question here is whether he claimed the throne as the son of the last reigning king or as the successor to the rights of his mother who was presumably none else than Jyeṣṭhāryā-Dharaṇīndradevī. But at the present state of our knowledge nothing can be stated with any amount of certainty on this point. All that may be affirmed is that Jayavarman III succeeded his father to the throne. But his accession to the throne might not have passed off peacefully. Epigraphy bears testimony to at least one more son of Jayavarman II who is credited with princely valour. His name is Indrāyudha and he is said to have already given evidence of his prowess by capturing the king of Campā[18]. Indrāyudha is not known to have reigned. Either he predeceased his father or in the war of succession following the death of Jayavarman II was eliminated by his brother or more probably half-brother, Jayavarman III.

The next king was Indravarman who has been justly credited with the re-unification of Cambodia[19]. Apparently only Bhavapura[20] and Śrī Cānāśa(pura)[21] were left out of the sway of Indravarman. It will be noted that Indravarman's own inscription claims no better lineage for his father Pṛthivīndravarman than that he was born in a Kṣatriya family *(kṣatr-ānvay-āpt-odgates)*[22]. But, on the other hand, his mother, though unnamed, has been described as born in a family where kings succeeded one another without break for generations. It is thus clear that to Indravarman himself claim of legitimacy, as distinct from the seizure of power which had been a *fait accompli*, passed through his mother.

A more elaborate genealogy for Indravarman has been furnished in the inscriptions of his son Yaśovarman. Unlike Jayavarman III and Yaśovarman, Indravarman has not been described as *garbheśvara* but princely origin and royal status for the father of Indravarman have nevertheless been made out. Indravarman is said to have been born of the daughter of king Śrī Rudravarman and Pṛthivīndravarman. Rudravarman was the youngest brother of the mother of the mother of Jayavardhana-Jayavarman III while Pṛthivīndravarman, described as a king *(pṛthivīpati)*, was a nephew of king Rudravarman[23]. The genealogical table may therefore be dressed as follows :



It will be noted that while Pṛthivīndravarman has been called a king *(pṛthivīpati)*, Indravarman has not been described as *garbheśvara*. On the other hand, some pain has been taken to connect Pṛthivīndravarman with the family of the wife of Jayavarman II and mother of Jayavarman III. Indeed some emphasis has been given to establish the relationship of cousin-brothers between Jayavarman III and Indravarman. Thus an inscription from Pràsàt He Phkà calls Indravarman as the son of the maternal uncle of Jayavarman III (*mātulasya tanayaḥ*)[24]. The conclusion may therefore be drawn that Indravarman's claim to the heritage of Jayavarman II was not derived from his father Pṛthivīndravarman, but through his mother he had some legitimate right of accession to the throne of his father, maternal grand-father Rudravarman and maternal great grand-father Nṛpatīndravarman. Again the Pràḥ Bàt inscription furnishes the following genealogical details regarding Indradevī, the queen of Indravarman. She was the daughter of Mahīpativarman and Rājendradevī, the daughter of Rājapativarman and Narendralakṣmī, the latter being the daughter of Narendravarman, the son of queen Yaśomatī and the Indian Brāhmaṇa Agastya[25].

Agastya = Yaśomatī (called *mahiṣī* i.e. queen)
↓
Narendravarman (*mahīpati*)
↓
Narendralakṣmī = Rājapativarman (*narādhipa*)
↓
Rājendradevī = Mahīpativarman
↓
Indradevī = Indravarman
↓
Yaśovarman

It will be observed that Narendravarman became king by virtue of the right inherited from his mother, Yaśomati. Again, for two successive generations sons-in-law viz. Rājapativarman and Mahīpativarman succeeded to the throne of their respective father-in-law. So it may be stated in all fairness that Indravarman regarded himself as the lawful successor to his father-in-law Mahīpativarman. Now, if Jayavarman II was actually successful in unifying the different disparate petty kingdoms of Cambodia under his supremacy, Indravarman claimed the throne of unified Khmèr kingdom through his mother and wife but not through his father. If, on the other hand, it is admitted that the Khmèr country was not politically unified till then and the petty principalities over which had ruled the maternal ancestors of the mother and wife of Indravarman were still flourishing, it is to be concluded that Indravarman had no rightful claim over the kingdom of Śambhupura-Aninditapura over which Jayavarman II had held sway. In that case Indravarman may fairly be seen as a usurper to the throne of Śambhupura-Aninditapura. It is indeed likely, as has been opined by Dupont[26], that Indravarman actually ousted Jayavarman III from the throne. That Jayavarman III was a lawful heir to the throne has been recognized by Yaśovarman as well.

It may, however, be observed that some attempt at introducing patrilineal succession to the throne might have been made during this period. The succession of kings from Jayavarman II onward contains some indications in that direction. Apparently, Jayavrman II was succeeded by his son Jayavarman III. The throne next passed to Indravarman, the son of a cousion of his mother. The latter in his turn was succeeded by his son Yaśovarman, aptly described as *garbheśvara*. From the genealogical table given above, it will be clear that Yaśovarman could very well regard himself as the true heir to the kingdom of his maternal grand-father Mahīpativarman. But since there was no separate existence of such a kingdom from the time of Indravarman at least, the claim of Yaśovarman through his mother would thus be of no avail. So the legitimacy of the accession of Yaśovarman passes through his father. In other words, he championed the cause of patrilineal succession to the throne. As a matter of fact, that patrilineal royal succession was gradually entrenching itself will be evident from the succession of the two sons of Yaśovarman, Harṣavarman I (A.D. 900-912) and Īśānavarman II (A.D. 925) after their father. Since nothing is known of the lineage of the queen or queens of Yaśovarman, it will be only presumptuous to say that Harṣavarman I and Īśānavarman II had any claim to the throne through their mother or mothers.

Thus to sum up : Succession of kings from Jayavarman III to Īśānavarman II appears to have been patrilineal with the possible exception of Indravarman who was, so far at least the throne of Śambhupura-Aninditapura was concerned, a usurper seizing power either by ousting Jayavarman III or immediately after his death. After Indravarman, for two generations the succession passed from father to son.

A reaction was not very late to set in. After a few years of simultaneous rule of and struggle between Īśānavarman II and Jayavarman IV[27], the former was ousted by the latter. Jayavarman IV was the husband of a sister of Yaśovarman[28]. The legality of the reign of Jayavarman IV has not been challenged by the later kings in their inscriptions[29] and, as such, the manner of his coming to the throne was presumably viewed as perfectly normal. Since Jayavarman IV could claim the throne only through his wife Jayadevī, the daughter of Indravarman, the principle of matrilineal succession is thus upheld. The same may be said with regard to the accession of Harṣavarman II, son of Jayavarman IV. That during this period filiation in the royal families was reckoned according to the matrilineal principle will be evident from the following : Harṣavarman II's mother was Jayadevī. She was a younger sister of Yaśovarman. She was also a younger sister of the Aṅkorian king Rājendravarman II's mother Mahendradevī[30], described as the daughter of a king and wife of king Mahendravarman[31]. Jayadevī and Mahendradevī thus stood in the relation of sisters but it is nowhere stated that Mahendradevī was also a sister of Yaśovarman or a daughter of king Indravarman, though from the evidence of the Mébon inscription quoted above this is very much likely. Thus Mahendradevī was, possibly either a co-uterine or half-sister or at least a cousin of Jayadevī[32]. Whatever be it, Rājendravarman II, son of Mahendradevī and Harṣavarman II, son of Jayadevī were cousins though they are sometimes simply described as brothers[33]. This, however, is accepted quite in the normal course of things in a patrilineal society also. But when Rājendravarman II and Jayavarman IV are said to have belonged to the same race[34], this poses a problem, since Rājendravarman, son of the cousin (or half-sister) of the wife of Jayavarman IV cannot be connected with the latter in the paternal line. They may belong to the same race only when Jayavarman IV's marriage was matrilocal and descent and succession passed according to the matrilineal principle. Moreover, the father of Rājendravarman II is stated to have been a king and Rājendravarman actually secured sovereignty over Bhavapura from his father[35]. Thus in a purely patrilineal system of royal succession Rājendravarman did not have to concede the right to throne to his younger 'brother', really a cousin, Harṣavarman II as may be gathered from the Pràsàt Hé Phkà inscription[36]. In fact, Rājendravarman's concession was not with regard to his right of accession to his paternal kingdom of Bhavapura which as indicated earlier[37] was clearly patrilineal but to the Añkorian kingdom. Here it will be observed that the claims of both Rājendravarman II and Harṣavarman II rest on their mothers who were very likely to have been co-uterine or half-sisters or at least maternal cousins. From the evidence of the Pràsàt Hé Phkà inscription quoted above, it will be clear that the law of primogeniture generally prevailed in the matter of royal succession by cousins, otherwise there would be no point in Rājendravarman claiming to have made a sacrifice. Had it not been so, he could have challenged the legitimacy of the reign of Harṣavarman II but instead, he erected the image of Rājendravarmadeveśvara at Prè Rup for the spiritual benefit of Harṣavarman II[38].

Since Harṣavarman II and Rājendravarman II are often called brothers, Finot surmised that Jayavarman IV and Mahendravarman were identical[39], but the theory has been ruined after the discovery of the Prè Rup inscription which states that Jayadevī was the younger sister of Mahendradevī, the mother of Rājendravarman II. Finot further held that Mahendravarman had been a king by virtue of his marriage with Mahendradevī[40]. Indeed, the Prè Rup inscription contains the expression *devī-yuktāt* to qualify Mahendravarman and this may apparently confirm Finot's hypothesis but it has been shown above that the same Prè Rup inscription informs us that Mahendravarman exercised sovereignty over Bhavapura only and had nothing to do with the Añkorian State.

Let us see in some details how Rājendravarman II himself viewed his accession to the throne. The st. VI of the Prè Rup inscription runs as follows :

āsīd=āsindhu-sīma-sphurita-sita-yaśorāśi-sañcāra-rājad=
rājyaśrī-maṇḍit-āninditapura-vikasan-mātṛvaṅś-ādhipatyaḥ
somā-kauṇḍinya-vaṅśyo=dadhad=nata-nṛpa-dvādaśāditya-dīptiś=
śrī-bālāditya-bhūpo=valayam=iva bhuvo=maṇḍalam līlaya yaḥ”[41].

From an analysis of the above four things would emerge. First, Rājendravarman II regarded Śrī Bālāditya as the founder of the royal fortune of the family. Secondly, the family was flourishing at Aninditapura. Thirdly, the *vaṃśa* was descended from the mythical couple Kauṇḍinya and Nāgī Somā, who held the original right over the Khmêr country. Fourthly, the race was matrilineal *(mātṛvaṃśa)*[42]. It may be recalled that the matrilineal character of the ruling family of Aninditapura has been emphasized in the Práḥ Bắt and other inscriptions of Yaśovarman[43]. It may also be noted in this connexion that both the Prè Rup and Práḥ Einkosei stèle inscriptions liken Rājendravarman II with the rising son *(bālāditya)* which is also a not too oblique reference to Rājendravarman's connexion with the king of that name. From all these and as shown in the genealogical table given earlier[44] it may be stated that Rājendravarman II regarded himself as a descendant of Bālāditya and drew his claim to the throne of Puṣkarākṣa of Śambhupura-Aninditapura and to the Aṅkorian State of Yaśovarman through his mother Mahendradevī.

To sum up: Rājendravarman II was the beneficiary of both the principles of succession, patrilineal and matrilineal. From his paternal side he inherited the kingdom of Bhavapura where patrilineal mode of succession was in vogue and from his mother's side, Rājendravarman II succeeded to the inheritance of Puṣkarākṣa and Yaśovarman i.e. to the Aṅkorian State.

But legal niceties apart, had Rājendravarman II had to wage a war of succession? That such a possibility cannot be altogether ruled out is clearly hinted at in stanza XVIII of the Prè Rup inscription which compares the early life of Rājendravarman II with that of Śaurī (=Kṛṣṇa):

"*durgg-ābhiyogād viphalīkṛt-āri-kāṃkṣam*
yaśod-ābhyudayāya dakṣam
mahendrato=labdha-mahābhiṣekam
rarāja śaurer=iva yasya vālyam[45]".

The reference to the joy and prosperity of Yaśodā may be interpreted as Rājendravarman's triumph over his maternal relations in the same way as Kṛṣṇa's success over his maternal uncle Kaṃsa. It is, therefore, not unlikely that while his accession to the throne of Bhavapura passed off smoothly, his claim to the throne of Aninditapura-Śambhupura or, for the matter of that, its successor, Aṅkorian State, did not go unchallenged. However, nothing is known of this presumed civil war. On the contrary, from the very cordial references to Jayadevī and Harṣavarman II for whose spiritual benefit he erected installations at Prè Rup[46], it is pretty certain that Harṣavarman II was not his adversary. The enemy or enemies whose ambition was foiled by Rājendravarman II could have been a son or grand-son of Yaśovarman who might have endeavoured to perpetuate dynastic control in the paternal line but in the absence of any positive evidence nothing can be ascertained in this regard.

Rājendravarman II was succeeded to the throne by his son Jayavarman V who has been described as *garbheśvara*[47]. After the amalgamation of the kingdoms of Bhavapura and Śambhupura-Aninditapura during the reign of his father, it cannot be held that, like his father before him, he also inherited the first kingdom from his father and the second from his mother. It may also be noted that from the information contained in the stèle inscriptions of Vat Práḥ Einkosei and of Pràsàt Koṃphus we learn that Jayavarman V had been associated with the administration even during the reign of his father whom he had served in the capacity of *yuvarāja*. In this capacity he had made grant of the village of Madhusūdana, also called Madhuvana, to Hari. The grant was renewed by him after his accession to the throne[48]. This would leave little scope for doubt that Jayavarman V's was a patrilineal succession. This is also clear from the fact that Rājendravarman II had at least one daughter called *kanhyaṅ kamrateṅ añ* Indralakṣmī who was given in marriage to the Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭa Divākara, born and brought up on the banks of the river Kālindī *(kālindī yatra ramyā...kṛṣṇaḥ kṛṣṇ-āhimarddī ditija-kulaharaḥ krīḍito=yatra vālye)*[49]. It was Bhaṭṭa Divākara who erected at Madhuvana three godheads and consecrated them to Bhadreśvara[50]. Had the principle of matrilineal succession been respected, Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭa Divākara, and not Jayavarman V, should have ascended the throne. It will thus appear that the custom of patrilineal succession prevalent in Bhavapura was imposed on the Aṅkorian kingdom as well. The change-over from matrilineal to patrilineal succession taking place during the two successive reigns of Rājendravarman II and Jayavarman V might also be related in a way with the introduction of reforms made by these kings in the structure of the caste-system which upheld a pronouncedly patrilineal social organization[51].

At the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to be categorical on the point whether the war of succession which took place after the death of Jayavarman V was actually sparked off by a conflict between the opposing principles of patrilineal and matrilineal succession. The known facts are as follows :

(i) The reign of Jayavarman V ended in *c.* A.D. 1000[52].

(ii) All the two inscriptions discovered so far of king Udayādityavarman I are dated in A.D. 1001[53].

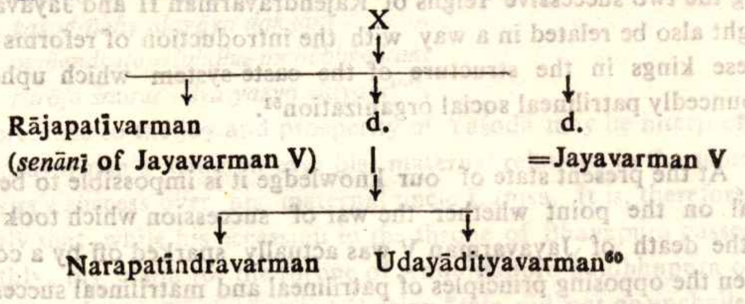
(iii) Such inscriptions of Sūryavarman I as Práḥ Khan (Koṃpoṅ Svày)[54], Pràsàt Ampil (Cikrêṅ)[55], Bos Práḥ Nāṅ (Coṅ Prei)[56] etc. are all dated in Śaka 924 i.e., A.D. 1002 which is also stated in the inscription of Tûol Tà Pêc[57] to be the year of his accession to the throne. However, the Robaṅ Romās inscription (Koṃpoṅ Svày) of Sūryavarman I is daṭed in

A.D. 1001[57a]. This discrepancy may be resolved on the assumption that the dating in the Robaṅ Romās inscription is given in revolved years, while in the other inscriptions mentioned above dates are recorded in current years.

(iv) The Tûol Pràsàt inscription (Koṃpoṅ Svày) states that Jayavīravarman ascended the throne in 924 Ś. (=A.D. 1002)[58] and the inscription Stuṅ Cràp (province of Bàttambang) records certain gifts dated in Śaka 925 (=A.D. 1003) when Jayavīravarman had been ruling[59].

(v) Upto A.D. 1006 inscriptions were issued both by Sūryavarman I and Jayavīravarman while from A.D. 1007 onward no inscription of Jayavīravarman has been found. The evidence of the inscription of Pràsàt Beṅ dated A.D. 1007 is quite interesting in this respect. In the Sanskrit portion of the text the king mentioned is Jayavīravarman while the Khmèr text refers to Sūryavarman I as the reigning king[59a].

It will thus be evident that there were at least three contenders for the throne after Jayavarman V viz. Udayādityavarman I, Jayavīravarman and Sūryavarman I. It may therefore be worth while to examine the *bona fides* of their respective claims. So far as Udāyaditya I is concerned, his mother is, stated to have been a scion of the royal family of Śreṣṭhapura and an elder sister of the wife of Jayavarman V. The genealogy contained in the Pràsàt Khnà inscription is as follows :



Śreṣṭhapura is heard of in Prè Aṅkorian times[61] but as a political centre it is totally forgotten even during the period of the dislocation of Tchen-la. At a later period, Tà Prohṃ and other inscriptions of Jayavarman VII[62] mention Śreṣṭhapura as the city of Śreṣṭhavarman in whose maternal family *(mātṛkulāmburāśau)* was born Kambujarājalakṣmī who seems to have been given away to Bhavavarman of Bhavapura[63]. During the early Aṅkorian period Śrīnivāsakavī, the priest and preceptor *(sāst=ānugrāhako=guru)* of Jayavarman III is stated to have been descended from a matrilineal family *(mātṛvaṃśa)* of Śreṣṭhapura[64] but there is nothing to attest to the existence of a ruling family at Śreṣṭhapura during this period. Hence such a family could have no claim over the throne of Kambuja and as such the queen of Jayavarman V could not bequeath any right to the throne to the son of her elder sister Udayādityavarman I who thus seems to have had no lawful claim to become king of the Kambuja country. Indeed the legitimacy of his reign has sometimes been put to question. Thus the Sdok Kak Thoṃ and Tûol Tà Pêc inscriptions clearly ignore his right. In any case, whatever be the legal validity of the reign of Udayādityavarman I, it is clear that his reign was ephemeral since from A.D. 1002 he ceased to issue inscriptions and passed into oblivion.

It has been noted above that between A.D. 1002 and 1006-07 epigraphy knows of two kings viz , Jayavīravarman and Sūryavarman I, as having issued inscriptions. Initially Aymonier suggested that the two names denoted one and the same king who for some unknown reason at a later date chose to use exclusively the name Sûryavarman[65]. This view was accepted by Finot[66]. In the Pràsàt Beṅ inscription Nṛpatīndralakṣmī was the queen of Jayavīravarman in the Sanskrit text and that of Sūryavarman I in the Khmèr text. Moreover, the general Narapatīndravarman, brother of Nṛpatīndralakṣmī, served as general of both Jayavīravarman and Sūryavarman I and received honours from them[67]. All these would tend to strengthen the hypothesis put forward by Aymonier. But then the concurrent use of the two names has got to be explained. Besides, the fact remains that while Jayavīravarman claimed descent from the lunar race, Sūryavarman I claimed a solar origin. Furthermore, while the inscriptions of Jayavīravarman have been found exclusively in the Aṅkor region, the inscriptions of the early years of Sūryavarman I are found in or refer to the extreme north-west, north and north-east of the country. Thus the simultaneous use of the two names, Sūryavarman I and Jayavīravarman, the divergent claims regarding origin, the geographical distribution of their inscriptions—all these would rather point to two rivals facing each other in a deadly struggle. This inference is corroborated by the contents of the inscriptions as well. Thus the Sdok Kak Thoṃ inscription speaks of the military operations *(krīḍāvala)* undertaken by Sūryavarman I and of the works of restoration of earlier foundations by Jayendrapaṇḍita[68]. The Práḥ Khan inscription of 924 Śaka (=A.D. 1002) also hints at a coalition of kings. Sūryavarman triumphed over them and won the kingdom :

"etāvat-ānumeyaṃ yad-vīryyaṃ yad-rūḍhadhīr=mmuniḥ
raṇastho=rājasaṃkīrṇṇād=rājño=rājyaṃ jahāra yaḥ[69]".

If the reading of the date i.e. 927 for the Khmèr text A of the stèle of

Tèp Praṇam[70] is correct, Sūryavarman I was already master of the Aṅkor region in *c*. A.D. 1005 but the inscription of the Stèle of Pràsàt Trapāṅ Run situated in the region of Rolûoḥ and dated in A.D. 1006 mentions Jayavīravarman as the ruling king[71]. It may thus be held that the struggle for the mastery of the Aṅkor region was not finally resolved till A.D. 1006. The culmination of this rivalry was marked by the triumph of Sūryavarman I over Jayavīravarman as may be seen from the Pràsàt Beṅ inscription.

Coedès believes that a good account of the rivalry and wars of the three contenders viz. Udayādityavarman I, Jayavīravarman and Sūryavarman I is preserved in the Chronicles of the Ch'ieng - Mai (Golden Palace) composed in the 15th or 16th century. There is, however, some apparent confusion of names and also in the occurrence of events in these accounts which may be thus summed up : "A king of Haripuñjaya (Lamp' un) named Atrāsataka (variants Trabaka, Baka) comes to attack Lavo (Lop'buri) where Ucchiṭṭhacakkavatti (variants Ucchitta°, Uccitta°) reigns. At the time when the two adversaries are getting ready for the fight, a king of Siridhammanagara (Ligor) named Sujita (variants Jīvaka, Vararāja) appears before Lavo with an army and a considerable fleet. Before this third challenger, the two adversaries flee in the direction of Haripuñjaya. Ucchiṭṭha reaches there first, proclaims himself king and marries the wife of his adversary who retires in a boat in the southern direction. Sujita, the king of Ligor instals himself as master of Lavo. At the end of three years Kambojarāja (stated to be the son of Sujita in the *Cāmadevī-vaṃsa*)[72] tries to overthrow Ucchiṭṭha at Haripuñjaya but he is defeated and has to come back to his capital"[73].

Coedès has identified Sūryavarman I with Kambojarāja. At first he considered Jayavīravarman as the legitimate authority ruling over Aṅkor region till he was overthrown by Sūryavarman I[74]. Since then Coedès has pointed out that the filiation of Sujita and Kambojaraja is not mentioned in any of the other texts like *Jinakālamālinī*, *Mūlasāsana* or the *Chronicle of Lam'pun*[75]. This fact has rendered suspect the evidence of the *Cāmadevīvaṃsa* which, in other respects also, is the least trustworthy of all these texts. However, other incidents recorded in these texts may be accepted with the corrective that Cambodia has been confounded with Lavo (Lop'buri). The events related in the Pāli texts and T'ai annals find corroboration in the account of an embassy in A.D. 1001 from the country of Tan-mei-lieou (evidently copyist's error for Tan-lieou-mei, a state of the Malay Peninsula) by its king To-siu-ki as recorded in the *Song-Che*[76]. Coedès believes that To-siu-ki may be reasonably taken to be the Chinese transcription of Su-ji-ta of the Ch'ieng-Mai chronicles. He further suggests that Ucchiṭṭhacakkavatti, an attribute of despise could have been applied to designate Udayādityavarman after he had been evicted by Sujita who came from Ligor (Malay Peninsula). He further thinks that after seizing the throne of Aṅkor, he assumed the name of consecration, Jayavīravarman. One of the two variants of his name, viz. Jīvaka may be a distorted from of Jāvāka, thus pointing to his Malay origin while in the other i.e. Vararāja may be found an echo of his name (Jaya)-(vīra)-(varman)[77].

The position may therefore be summed up as follows: Udayādityavarman I had no claim to the throne by virtue of the operation of either matrilineal or patrilineal succession. Even if he had been designated *yuvarāja* and heir-presumptive by his predecessor Jayavarman V, this would have been in contravention of all established norms and principles. This could only indicate a progressive consolidation of male supremacy in society in general. Udayādityavarman I was overthrown and it is because of his eviction that he has been named Ucchiṭṭhacakkavatti in the Pāli texts. His conqueror was Sujita/To-siu-ki who had come from Siridhammanagara (Ligor, Malay Peninsula). He assumed the name of Jayavīravarman after becoming king of Aṅkor. That Jayavīravarman was a mere conqueror and had no other claim to the Aṅkorian throne will be clear from the fact that besides claiming for him vaguely descent from the mythical couple Somā and Kauṇḍinya[78], none of his inscriptions connects him even remotely with any of his predecessor Khmèr kings. The Pāli texts as also the Ch'ieng-Mai annals next mention one Kambojarāja who failed to oust Ucchhiṭṭhacakkavatti, then ruling over Haripuñjaya (Lamp'un). He is identified by Coedès with Sūryavarman I. Since with the exception of only the *Cāmadevīvaṃsa*, no other text mentions him as the son of Sujita, any blood relationship between them is suspect. On the other hand, it is all the more likely that Sūryavarman I-Kambojarāja had to wage a long-drawn war against Sujita-Jayavīravarman who might have been joined also by Ucchiṭṭhacakkavatti from Haripuñjaya. The final triumph of Sūryavarman I over Jayavīravarman was achieved sometime after A.D. 1006.

From the Pràsàt Beṅ inscription it is learnt that Sūryavarman I took as his *devī* (queen) Śrī Nṛpatīndralakṣmī, described as the legal wife and queen of his rival Jayavīravarman[79]. Śrī Nṛpatīndralakṣmī seems to be identical with Narapatīndralakṣmī who has been described in the Pràsàt Sralau inscription as the chief queen of Sūryavarman I[80]. If this be so, it has to be admitted that Sūryavarman I not only married the queen of his defeated enemy Jayavīravarman but also conferred on her the status of chief queen[81]. This may be regarded as an attempt at legitimization of his seizure of power. But the sort of right queen Śrī Narapatīndra/Nṛpatīndra -lakṣmī could claim over the Aṅkorian throne is not known. Sūryavarman I seems to have preferred other grounds also for his claim over the throne. The inscription on the western door-pillar of Práḥ Vihār (K. 380) informs us that Sūryavarman I was descended from Śrī Indravarman-Īśvaraloka and his queen Śrī Vīralakṣmī was related to Śrī Harṣavarmadeva I -Rudraloka and Śrī Īśānavarman II -Paramarudraloka, the two sons and successors of Yaśovarman[82]. In the Pràsàt Khnà inscription Vīralakṣmī was also equally connected with Harṣavarman I in the maternal line *(toy mātṛpakṣa)*[82a]. The nature of relationship existing between Indravarman and Sūryavarman I is not indicated here. But in the Vat Práḥ Thāt of Tuk Chà inscription Sūryavarman I is stated to have been descended in the maternal family of Indravarman :

"*kṣatra-santāna-sambhūta-śrīndravarmma-mahībhṛtaḥ*
yo=mātṛ-vaṃśa-sambhūtas=tilakaḥ kṣatra-santatau[83]"

Again the fragmentary text of B, st. VI, of the inscription of Lôvek reads as follows :

"*atha śrī-sūryyavarmm=āsīt sāmrād=rājanvatīdharaḥ*
mātr-anvay-od(i)t(as) t=(a sy) a.................[84]"

Here *tasya* refers to king Jayavarman V mentioned in the preceding verse (st. V). It may therefore be argued that Sūryavarman I claimed descent not only from the maternal family of Indravarman but also of Jayavarman V. Further details indicating the precise relationship of Sūryavarman I with these kings are at the moment lacking. Anyway, the very fact of his belonging to the maternal family of Jayavarman V would undoubtedly entitle him to a better claim over the Aṅkorian throne than Udayādityavarman I who was the son of a sister of the queen of Jayavarman V[85].

From the above discussion it will be evident that whatever right to the throne Sūryavarman I might claim passed through his mother and/or wives Śrī Nṛpatīndra/Narapatīndra-lakṣmī and Vīralakṣmī. But the reality of the situation was that he was the successful contender in war of succession which had broken out after the death of Jayavarman V some time after A.D. 1000. But what is important to note is that legal justification for usurping power was sought in the principle of of matrilineal succession. Unless this principle was generally prevalent, descent and relationships of Sūryavarman I could have been traced in deference to the opposite principle of patrilineal succession in inscriptions which were, more often than not, records of grants of land, slaves etc. with the concurrence of the reigning king. The authors of these inscriptions were prone to ascribe laudable connexions for the reigning kings. They could not possibly claim an ancestry for a king which would go contrary to establishing his lawful right to the throne. So if claims in the matrilineal line have been preferred for Sūryavarman I, the reason thereof seems to be that such was the custom of the country for all classes and communities, the royalty not excepted.

NOTES

1. cf. B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXV, p. 25 and XXVIII, p. 141.
2. Tûol Pràsàt inscription, K. 158, c, ll. 8-9, I.C., vol. II, 104.
3. Inscription of Vat Saṃroṅ, K. 956, l. 19, I.C., vol. VII, p. 130.
4. cf. (i) Vat Tnôt inscription, K. 38, 1.13, I.C., vol, II, p. 46.
   (ii) Stèle inscription of Vat Prĕi Vāl, K. 49, I.C., vol. VII, p. 7.
   (iii) Vat Thlèṅ inscription, K. 1, I.C., vol. VI, p. 29. There is also an inscription of the time of Sūryavarman I where a private individual is signified by the term (Pràsàt Bĕṅ, K. 230, I.C., vol. VI, p. 243).
5. I.C., vol. VII, p. 168.
6. Práḥ Bàt inscription, st. X, I.S.C.C., No. XLIV, p. 365.
7. *ibid*, st. XVI–XVII.
8. Pràsàt Chà Chuk inscription, K. 1034, st. VII :
   "*tasya garbheśvaraḥ putro=bhavat kṣetra-namaskṛtaḥ*
   Śrī-harṣavarmma-rājendraḥ pratāpa-tapan-ojjvalaḥ"
   —B.E.F.E.O., vol. LVII, p. 77.
9. Prè Rup inscription, st. XVI, I.C., vol. I, pp. 78-79.
10. Inscription of Kapilapura, st. III, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXV, p. 366 :
    "*devyāṃ rāja-parampar odaya-bhuvi śrī-kaṇṭha-vaikuṇṭhayor=*
    ekāṅśo=vasudhādhurām=adhikadhīr=āvāridher=ddhāraṇe.
    jāto=dhauta-yaśās=samasta-guṇabhṛd=dharmm-āvadātākṛtin=
    vāggmī vāsav-ākhya-lakṣaṇayuto garbheśvaro=yo=vaśī".
11. *ibid*., p. 367.
12. I.C., vol. I, p 107 : 'roi de naissance'.
13. B.E.F.E.O., vol. LVII, p. 77 : 'Souverain de par Sa naissance'.
14. ed. M.R. Kale, p. 167.
15. p. 199. M. A. Stein translates it as "having been born on the throne" (p. 212).
16. Práḥ Kô (Bakou) inscription, K. 311-316, I S.C.C., No. XXXVI, pp. 299-303.
17. cf. (i) Tà Keo inscription, I.S.C.C., No. XV, pp. 103-108, A, sts. II-III : Bhāsvāminī called' '*agramahiṣī devī*' of Parameśvara and B, sts. II-III : Hyaṅ Pavitrā described as *dev* and *agramahiṣī* of the king of Kambuja who ascended the throne in 724 Ś. ("*Kambuja-rājendro=veda-dvi-naga-rājyabhāk*") = A. D. 802 i.e. to say Jayavarman II.
18. Inscription of the stèle of Baphûon, A, st. IV, I.C., vol. VII, p. 85 :
    "*tasya sūnur=anūnaś=śr=indrāyudha=itiritah*
    prāg=eva camp-ā(dhipa) ti-grahaṇe labdhvikramaḥ".
19. cf. P. Dupont, Étudas sur 1' Indochine ancienne II : Les débuts de la royauté angkorienne, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XLVI, fasc. 1, p. 170.
20. cf. Prè Rup inscription of Rājendravarman II, st. XVII, *loc. cit*.
21. cf. Stèle inscription of Bo Ika (K. 400) of king Aṅśadeva, dated A.D. 868, I.C., vol. VI, pp. 84-85 ; also Coedès, Une nouvelle inscription d' Ayut'hya, *Journal of the Siam Research Society*, vol. XXXV, p. 73. Coedès is of the opinion that the centre of the kingdom of Cānāśa(pura) lay not on the Menam but on the plateau of K'orat. He, moreover, thinks that it was a vassal kingdom of Kambuja (I.C., vol. VI, p. 83).
22. Inscription of the temple of Bakou, st. III, I S.C.C., No. XXXVI, p. 306= inscription of Bakong, st. III, I.S.C.C., No. XXXVII, p. 311=inscription of Bayang, st. IV, I.S.C.C., No. XXXVIII, p. 315.

23. "*Mahīpatiś=śrī-jayavarddhano=yo=*
garbheśvaraś=śrī-jayavarddhan-ākhyaḥ
rājyasthitaś=śrī-jayavarmmanāmā......
tasy-ādhirājo=jananī-jananyā=
jaghanyajo=...
śrī-rudravarmm=eti.......
tad bhāgineyo=...
.. yaḥ...
pṛthivīpatiś=śrī-pṛthivīndravarmmā
rājanya-vaṅś-āmvara-candralekhā
śrī-rudravarmm-āvanipāla-kanyā
rājñī satī śrī-nṛpatīndravarmma-
putryās=sutā yā sura-sundar=īva
tayoḥ kumāro...
śrīndravarmmā sakalāṃ babhāra".
—Práḥ Bàt inscription, sts X—XIV, I.S.C.C., No. XLIV, p. 365.

24. K. 686. southern door-pillar, st. VIII, I.C., vol. IV, p. 84 ; Baksĕi Caṃkroṅ inscription, northern door-pillar, st. XXIV, I.C., vol. IV, p. 91 :
"*tan-mātulasy=endranibhasya bhūtyā*
yaś=śr-īndravarmm=eti babhūva putraḥ...".

25. Práḥ Bàt inscription, sts V-VIII, I.S.C.C., No. XLIV, p. 364 :
"*atha dvijo=gastya=iti pratīto=*
yo=veda-vedāṅgavid=āryyadeśe
labdh-odayo=yā mahiṣ=īddhavaṅśā
yaśomat=īti prathitā yaśobhiḥ
sutas=tayor=yyo=yudhi durmmadaś=śrī-
narendravarmm=eti narendravaryyaḥ
mahīpates=tasya sut=eva lakṣmīr=
nnarendra-lakṣmīr=iti yā babhūva
tasyām=ari-dvirada-rāja-mṛg-ādhipena
janyeṣu rājapativarmma-narādhipena
rājendradevy=amaragarbhanibh-odapādi
yā diṅ-mukhāvali-vikīrṇṇa-viśuddha-kīrttiḥ
tasyām=ajījanad=aneka-narendra-siṅha-
vaṅś=odayāya sa=mahīpativarmma-devaḥ
devīm=anuttama-vapuś=śrīyam=indradevīṃ
dugdh-ābdhi-dhauta-yaśasan=tapatīm=iv=ārkkaḥ"

26. La dislocation du Tchen-la, *loc. cit.*, p. 54.

27. cf Coedès, La date du Kôḥ Kèr, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXXI, p. 12.

28. cf. (i) Inscription of the monument to the West of the western door of Aṅkor Thoṃ, K. 905, 11.6-7, I.C., vol. IV, p. 78 :
"*(rājā śrī jā) ya varmm=ābhūd=urvvīndrāṇām=adhīśvaraḥ*
(yasya)-jāgramahiṣī śrī-yaśovarmmaṇo=nujā"
and
(ii) Baksĕi Caṃkroṅ inscription, st. XXV, I.C., vol. IV, p. 91 :
"*pitṛ-svasus=tasya patiḥ paṭiṣṭhaḥ*
śriy-ojjvalaś=śrī-jayavarmmanāmā".

29. See for example such inscriptions as Baksĕi Camkroṅ (st. XXXV, I.C., vol. IV, p. 92), Tûol Tà Pêc (st, LXXXIV, I.C., vol. V, p. 256), Pràsàt Khnà (Mlu Prei, K. 661, st. CXXI, I.C., vol. I, p. 206) etc.

30. Prè Rup inscription, st. CCLXXX (*loc. cit.* p 103):

"śrī harṣadeva-jananī-jayadevyās=svar-jjayāya janitaśrīḥ
jananī-jaghaṇyajāyās=
ten=eha sthāpitā girijā."

31. Mébon inscription, st. XII, B E F.E.O., vol. XXV, p. 312:

"yā nāmn=āpi mahendradevy=abhihitā bhūbhṛt-sut=aiv=eśvarī
... ...
bhāsvad-vaṅśa... pur-ādhīśa-āvanīś-ātmajo=
yāṃ saṃprāpya mahendravarmma-nṛpatis=sārthām=adhād=īśatām"

32. cf. Dupont, La dislocation du Tchen-la, *loc. cit.*, p. 34.

33. cf. Prè Rup inscription, st. CCLXXXI which describes Harṣavarman II as a younger brother *(anuja)* of Rājendravarman II. Similarly, the Baksĕi Caṃkroṅ inscription (st. XL) mentions Rājendravarman II as the eldest brother *(bhrātā-tadīyo=vayasā guṇaughair=jyeṣṭho*, I.C., vol. IV, p. 93).

34. Pràsàt Kôk Càk inscription, st. IV, I.C., vol. VII, p. 142:

"tat-kula-vyoma-somo=bhūt."

35. Prè Rup inscription, st. XVII, *loc cit.*:

"pitus=svan=mahati bhavapure=p=īśvarād=īśvaratvan..."

36. Pràsàt Hê Phkà (K 686), st. XVII, I.C., vol. IV, p. 84:

"jyeṣṭho=pi yas=sādhu samarppita śrīś=
śrī-harṣavarmmaṇy=ānuje svakīye."

37. See *supra*, pp. 54-54 and 59.

38. Prè Rup inscription, st. CCLXXXI, *loc. cit.*, p. 103:

"rājendravarmmadev-eśvaram=īśvaram=īśvaro=vanīśānām
śrī-harṣavarmma-nṛpater=anujasya sa=bhūtaye kṛtavān"

39. Inscriptions d' Aṅkor, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXV, p. 311. Finot further thinks that the king before ascending the throne of Cambodia bore the name Jayavarman as a feudatory king.

40. "...et Mahendravarman ne fut vraiement *īśvara* (souverain ou Śiva) qu'après qu'il eut epousé cette *īśvarī* (Mahendradevi)", *ibid*, p. 333, n. 2.

41. *loc. cit.*, p. 78.

42. The same informations with the exception of a reference to *mātṛvaṃśa* are contained in the inscription of the stèle of Práḥ Einkosĕi (st. V, I.C., vol. IV, p. 121) as well:

"āsīd=bhūpāla-mauli-sphurita-maṇi-śikhā-rāga-digdh-āṅghrija-śrīr=
vvālādityo=pi san=yo=hita-kula-kamal-ākuñcanāy=aika-candraḥ
somā-kauṇḍinya-vaṅśe nikhila-guṇa-nidhir=ddīpta-kīrtty-ātapatro=
daurddaṇḍa-dyotit-āninditapura-vilasad=rājyalakṣmīn=dadhānaḥ"

43. see *supra* pp. 52-53.

44. see *supra* p. 37.

45. I.C., vol. I, p. 79.

46. sts. CCLXXX-CCLXXXI, *loc. cit.*

47. Inscription of Kapilapura, K. 486, sts III-IV, B.E.F.E.O., XXV, p. 366; see also note 10 above.

48. Stèle of Vat Práḥ Einkosĕi K. 263), st. XXII, I.C., vol. IV, p. 126 :
"*suvarṇṇa-yānaṃ madhusūdanākhyaṅ=*
grāmaṅ=harau śrī-jayavarmmadevaḥ
dvijendrapuryyāṃ yuvarād=dideśa
viyad–vil–āṣṭ–ādhikṛt–ādhirājyaḥ"

49. st. XXXI, *ibid.*

50. st. XXV, *ibid*, p. 125.

51. See our study on the caste system in ancient Cambodia in *Sdok Kak Thoṃ Inscription, Part I · A study in Indo-Khmèr Civilization*, pp 86-124.

52 The last known date of Jayavarman V is 919 Ś.(=A.D. 997, Pràsàt Práḥ Kô inscription, K. 707, I.C., vol. V, p. 220) and the earliest date of his successors Udayādityavarman I and Sūryavarman I is 923 Ś.=A.D. 1001 (*vide* Prà·àt Khnà inscription of Udayādityavarman I, B.E.F E.O., vol. XI, p. 400 ff. and Pràsàt Robaṅ Romās inscription, K. 153, I.C., vol. V, p 194 ff.).

53. Prà àt Khnà (Mlu Prei) inscription, K. 356, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XI, p. 400 ff. and Prà·àt Thoṃ inscription of Kòḥ Kèr, K. 682, I.C., vol. I, p. 50.

54 K. 161, B.E.F.E.O., vol. IV, p. 677 ff. and Majumdar, I.K., No. 149, p. 361.

55. K. 817, I.C., vol V, pp 200-201. The inscription does not mention the name Sūryavarman I but the use of the title *vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ añ ta paramapavitra* leaves little room for doubt that the king referred to is Sūryavarman I.

56. K 89, I.C., vol III, p. 965.

57 *avdhi-dvi-nava-rājyabhāk*, st. XLI, K. 834, I.C., vol V, p. 253.

57a. K. 153, I.C., vol. V, p. 194. If the sovereign indicated by *dhūli vraḥ pāda dhūli jeṅ vraḥ kammrateṅ añ ta paramapavitra* is taken to be identical with Sūryavarman I as is likely, he was then ruling in 923 Śaka (inscription of Tûol Koṃnàp Tà Kin, Sambor, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXXVIII, p. 142).

58. *avdhi-dvi-randhr-ādhigata-rājyaḥ*, st. II, I.C., vol. II, p. 99.

59. K. 693, I.C., vol. V, pp. 203-204.

59a. I.C , vol VII, pp. 172 (st, VII) and 175 (B.I. 5).

60. "*varmm-āntaṃ yudhi nāma vibhrad-ajitaḥ śrī-rājapaty-ādi yas=*
senānīr=jjayavarmmaṇo=vanibhṛtāṃ patyuḥ supatnī ca yā
mātuḥ śreṣṭhapur-eśvar-ānvaya-bhuvo=yasy=āgrajaḥ s=onujā
sā sodaryyatay=ābhavad=vara-yaśas-tyāg-ādibhiḥ sad-guṇaiḥ"
—st. V, B.E.F E.O., vol. XI, p. 400 ff.

61. Taṅ Kraṅ inscription (K. 725) of Jayavarman I, *loc. cit.*, st. XII, I.C., vol. I, p. 9.

62. Inscriptions of Tà Prohm (K. 273), Aṅkor Thoṃ (Pràsàt Cruṅ, north-eastern angle, K. 287) ; south-western angle (K. 288) ; Aṅkor Thoṃ (Enclosure, north-eastern angle, K. 547) ; Aṅkor Thoṃ (Pràsàt Cruṅ, south-eastern angle, K. 597) ; Práḥ Khan (Gopura I East, K. 908) : A, sts VI-VII, B.E.F.E.O., vol. VI, p. 44 ; XLI, p. 255 ff. ; I.C., vol. IV, p. 207 ff.

63. See ante p. 20.

64. Pràsàt Kôk Pô inscription, door-pillar II, st. VII, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXXVII, p. 389.

65. *Le Cambodge*, vol. III, p. 496.

66. In the introduction to his edition of the inscription of Pràsàt Trapaṅ Run, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXVIII, p. 58.

67. Pràsàt Bĕṅ inscription (K. 989) A, sts. XXVII-XXVIII ; B. 1.58, I.C., vol. VII, pp. 172-178.

68. 4.45-46, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XLIII, p. 90 : "*man vraḥ sruk bhadrapattana nu sruk stuk ransi nu caṃnat noḥ phoṅ syaṅ ta śūnya kāla vraḥ pāda nivvāṇapāda krīḍāvala vraḥ kamrateṅ śrī-jayendrapaṇḍita thve sruk noḥ viṅ unmīlita vraḥ noḥ man ti sthāpanā viṅ*".

69. Majumdar, I.K No. 149, p. 361.

70. I.C., vol. III, p. 232.

71. K. 598, A. 43 and B, 11.1-2, B.E.F.E.O , vol. XXVIII, p. 67.

72. C. Notton, *Annales du Siam*, vol. II, p. 34.

73. O.W. Wolters, Tāmbralinga, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol. XXXI, p. 593.

74. I.C., vol. VII, p. 169, n. 8.

75. cf. G. Coedès *Catalogue des manuscripts provenant de la Thailande*, Bibliothèque Royale de Copenhague (1963), p. 96.

76. I.C., vol. VII, p. 169.

77. *ibid.*, n. 8.

78. Tûol Pràsàt inscription, A, st. II, I.C., vol. II, p. 99.

79. Pràsàt Bĕṅ inscription, (K. 989), st. XXVI and B.l. 31, I.C., vol. VII, pp. 174, 176.

80. "*jā agradevī ti hau kamrateṅ an̄ śrī narapatīndralakṣmī*", Pràsàt Sralau inscription, K. 782, southern door-pillar, 1.5, I.C., vol. I, p. 224.

81. There is, however, one big discrepancy about the queen. While the Pràsàt Sralau inscription describes her as a descendant of the family of Vrai Kanloṅ, she is said to have been born in the family of Thpvaṅ, Rmmān in the inscription of Pràsàt Bĕṅ. Further, it is also not clear whether Śrī Nṛpatīndra/Narapatīndralakṣmī was identical with Vīralakṣmī mentioned as the *agradevī* of king Sūryavarman I in the Sdok Kák Thoṃ inscription or as his *mahādevī* hailing from Vrac of Vraḥ Sruk in the Praḥ Vihār (western door-pillar inscription, K. 310, 1. 18, I.C., vol. VI, p. 261).

82. Praḥ Vihār (western door-pillar) inscription, K. 380, I.C., vol. VI, p. 261 : "*vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ kaṃtvan an̄ śrī-sūryyavarmmadeva ta rājakula vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ an̄ śrīndravarmamadeva ta stac dau īśvaraloka nu kaṃmratieṅ an̄ śrī vīralakṣmī mahādevī āy vrac vraḥ sruk rājakula vraḥ pāda śrī-harṣavarmmadeva ta stac dau rudraloka nu vraḥ pāda śrīśānavarmmadeva ta stac dau paramarudraloka*".

82a. K. 660, I.C., Vol. I, p. 196.

83. Stèle inscription of Vat Práḥ Thāt of Tuk Chà, K. 702, st. VIII, I.C., vol. V, p. 224. See also stèle inscription of Tûol Tá Pĕc, K. 834, st. XV, I.C., vol. V, p. 252.

84. I.S.C.C., No. XIV, p. 130.

85. Prását Khná inscription, K. 660, referred to in n.82a above.

CHAPTER V

THE PERIOD OF CLASSICAL AṄKORIAN CIVILIZATION

(A.D. 1050-1350)

Sūryavarman I is known to have established the caste system :

> "*Śrī-sūryyavarmmaṇo=rājya-varṇṇa-bhāge kṛte=pi yaḥ*
> *sampadaṃ prāpya sad-bhaktyā varṇṇa-śreṣṭhatva-saṃsthitaḥ*".[1]

If from the above passage introduction of the fourfold caste system after the Indian model be understood, it would follow that in respect of social engineering Sūryavarman I was able to foist a patrilineal organization of society in Cambodia. It is, however, to be noted that Sūryavarman I was not succeeded to the throne by a son. It is not that he had no son. At least the Pràsàt Beṅ inscription[2] states that Vīravardhana was born to him of his *devī* Śrī Nṛipatīndralakṣmī, brother of *senānī* Śrī Narapatīndravarman of the family of Thpvaṅ Rmmān. From another fragmentary stèle inscription of the time of Sūryavarman I and discovered in the province of Pracīnburī (Siam)[3] which also mentions Narapativarman as the maternal uncle of a prince whose name ended in °Vardhana (*..vardhan-ākhyasya kṣemendra-putrasya mātulaḥ*). There is little room for doubt as to the identity of this prince and Vīravardhana of the Pràsàt Beṅ inscription. If the prince Vīravardhana did not predecease his father, his failure to inherit the throne of his father may be explained as another example of the fact that patrilineal system of succession did not as yet establish itself staunchly even for the royalty. The failure of Vīravardhana to succeed his father may further be explained by the fact that his mother Śrī Nṛpatīndralakṣmī had no claim to the throne and so he could not inherit any for himself either. Sūryavarman I was succeeded to the throne by Udayādityavarman II in A.D. 1049[4]. His relationship with his predecessor has nowhere been stated precisely. But there are certain indications. Thus a Pràsàt Práḥ Ksèt inscription of A.D. 1067 mentions one Saṃkarṣa as the son of Dvijendravallabha who came from Madhyadeśa in India and was a nephew of king Udayādityavarman II :

> "*Saṃkarṣ-ākhyo=*..............
> *Udayārkkavarmma-bhūpāla-bhāgineyas=sa=nītimān*".[5]

The Khmèr text of the same inscription calls him by the name Kamrateṅ Añ Aso Madhyadeśa and describes him also as a nephew of Kamrateṅ Añ Śrī Vīralakṣmī : "*kamrateṅ madhyadeśa ta kanmvāy kamrateṅ añ śrī vīralakṣmī*".[6] However, somewhat later in the same inscription (11.9-10) Kamrateṅ Añ Madhyadeśa has been referred to as *cau* (grandson) of

Harṣavarman I and Īśānavarman II as also of queen Vīralakṣmī, which is impossible. That is why Coedès has here understood by *cau* simply a descendant and not specially a grandson[7]. If Saṃkarṣa-Kamrateṅ Aso Madhyadeśa was a nephew *(bhāgineya/kanmvāy)* of both Udayādityavarman II and Vīralakṣmī, it would follow that they stood in the relation of brother and sister or at least of cousins. Again, the Pråsât Khnå (Mlu Prei) inscription states that *Vraḥ Kamrateṅ Añ* Bhuvanāditya was a younger brother of Vīralakṣmī (*"vraḥ kamrateṅ añ śrī bhuvanāditya ta phaun kamrateṅ añ śrī vīralakṣmī"*)[8]. The similarity in names of Udayāditya and Bhuvanāditya would tend to suggest that Udayādityavarman II was a co-uterine or at least a half-brother of Vīralakṣmī. It would thus transpire that Sūryavarman I was succeeded to the throne by his brother-in-law Udayādityavarman II whose claim to the throne was based on his being descended from Harṣavarman I and Īśānavarman II, in the maternal line. The tenuous claim appears more like an attempt at *post facto* legitimization of what was really usurpation of power by Udayādityavarman II, possibly by overthrowing Vīravardhana, the son of Sūryavarman I.

Udayādityavarman II was succeeded to the throne by Harṣavarman III. Since according to the Pràsàt Práḥ Ksèt inscription Saṃkarṣa Kamrateṅ Aso Madhyadeśa was a *bhāgineya* of Udayādityavarman II and *kanmvāy* (taken literally to mean nephew)[9] of Vīralakṣmī and Harṣavarman III, it is clear that the mutual relationship between Udayādityavarman II and Harṣavarman III was one of natural brothers or at least of cousins in the maternal line.

There is a little controversy as to the date of accession of Harṣavarman III. The stèle inscription of Trapāṅ Dôn On states that Udayādityavarman II was still ruling in 989 Ś. (=A.D. 1067) : *"ta 989 śaka ta rāja vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ añ śrī udayādityavarmmadeva"*[10]. But the Pràsàt Práḥ Ksèt inscription referred to above mentions Harṣavarman III as the ruling sovereign in A.D. 1067[11]. Further according to a Pràsàt Sralau inscription Harṣavarman III came to the throne in 987 Ś. (=A.D. 1065)[12].

The discrepancy in the date of accession of Harṣavarman III has been sought to be explained by Coedès as due to any one of the following :

(i) The Práh Ngouk and Pràsàt Práḥ Ksèt inscriptions refer to current years while the date is given in the revolved year in the Pràsàt Sralau inscription.

or

(ii) Harṣavarman III was proclaimed king even during the lifetime of Udayādityavarman II.

or

(iii) One of the two dates (987 and 989 Ś) is wrong. Coedès is inclined to accept the first alternative suggested above and place the date of accession of Harṣavarman III in A.D. 1066[13]. But the second hypothesis cannot altogether be ruled out, particularly in view of the fact that there took place many revolts and invasions during the reign of Udayādityavarman II[14] and these may be regarded as reactions led by similar political adventurers against the usurpation of power by Udayādityavarman himself. It is in this context that one may say that Harṣavarman's was the revolt which ultimately succeeded and for a time both he and Udayādityavarman II ruled simultaneously.

According to the evidence of the inscription of Trapāṅ Dòn On, the coronation of Harṣavarman III took place some time after A.D. 1067 when Namaśśivāya, the author of the inscription entered into royal service at the age of 18 and was appointed chief of the royal cowherd. It further states that at the time of the coronation of Śrī Harṣavarman III and other kings he (Namaśśivāya) took the sacred (or royal) cows at the head of the procession and led them around the royal palace :

"*śrī-harṣavarmmadev-āder=abhiṣekavidhau yataḥ*
parito=mandiraṃ yena dhenur=ānāyi c=āgrataḥ"[15].

The expression *Harṣavarmmadevāder* has been sometimes taken to signify Harṣavarman III and other kings distinct from Śrī Jayavarman (VI), Śrī Dharaṇīndravarman (I) and Sūryavarman (II) mentioned in the same inscription as kings whom also Namaśśivāya had the privilege to serve[16]. It would then follow that between Harṣavarman III and Jayavarman VI other king or kings intervened[17]. Alternatively, it may be that the kingdom was divided into two parts, one ruled by 'Harṣavarman III and other kings' and the other by kings Jayavarman VI, Dharaṇīndravarman I and Sūryavarman II and Namaśśivāya successively served all of these two groups of kings. It may be worthwhile to look into the matter a little more closely. The Khmèr text of the Pârsât Práḥ Ksèt inscription twice mentions one Śrī Nṛpṛtīndravarman endowed with the royal title *vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ añ*[18]. He is distinguishable from Udayādityavarman II and Harṣavarman III only in this that he is not called *deva*. Since Śrī Nṛpatīndravarman is not known to have exercised royal power from any other source, it is possible, as Coedès thinks, that he has been accorded royal title in the Prâsât Práḥ Ksèt inscription in a rather abusive manner. However, Coedès admits that the possibility of inducting a ruler named Śrī Nṛpatīndravarman between Harṣavarman III and Jayavarman VI cannot altogether be ruled out. The expression *Harṣavarmmadevāder* of the Pràsàt Dôn On inscription will then have to be invested with some real significance.

As to the theory of division of the country the following has to be considered :

The Nom Van inscription (K. 391) contains a date and mentions Jayavarman as the ruling king. The date was at first read by Aymonier as 1090 or 1093 Śaka and since at that time it was believed that Jayavarman VII came to the throne in 1084 Śaka, Aymonir identified Jayavarman of the said Nom Van inscription with Jayavarman VII. But since then Coedès has correctly read the date as 1004 Śaka and from the Tà Prohm inscription of the great king Jayavarman VII the date of his accession is definitively known as A.D. 1181[19]. As such, Coedès has come to the conclusion that Jayavarman of the Nom Van inscription refers to Jayavarman VI. Indeed a Prè Rup inscription (K. 527) engraved on the southern door-pillar of the entrance door of the north-eastern tower of the monument states in all letters that Jayavarman VI came to the throne in (Śaka) 1002 (= A.D. 1080) : "*[āsīc] = chrī-jayavarmmadeva-nṛpatir = dor-dyu-dyu-candrais = sthito = rājye*"[20].

Again the date in the Saṃroṅ inscription of the erection by Harṣavarman III of certain statues which had been taken away by his enemies earlier was read by Aymonier as 1011 Śaka (= A.D. 1089)[21]. It therefore appeared that Harṣavarman III had been reigning even nine years after the accession of Jayavarman VI to the throne. The simultaneous rule of the country by Harṣavarman III and Jayavarman VI is understandable only in the eventuality of a division of the country into two parts. Indeed, at one time Coedès believed that Jayavarman VI was a political adventurer who taking advantage of the troubled political condition prevailing during the reign of Udayādityavarman II managed to carve out a kingdom for himself in the north of the Daṅrèk mountains where he continued to rule while Harṣavarman III was in control of the region of the Tonlé Sap (Great Lake). Since then Coedès has been able to show that the correct reading of the date in the concerned passage of the Saṃroṅ inscription is 99 Śaka (= A.D. 1069) which very much falls within the reign period of Harṣavarman III[22]. Hence the theory of division of the country with the rise of Jayavarman VI has to be abandoned. Further, the Tà Prohm inscription of Jayavarman VII categorically states that Jayavarman VI ruled over the eminent city of Yaśodharapura i.e. in the Añkor region, and not only in the extreme northwestern part of the country as supposed earlier. It should, nevertheless, be added that until now no inscription of Jayavarman VI has been discovered in the Lower Mekong valley. As a matter of fact, from the above discussion it will be clear that when the Trapāñ Dòn On inscription mentions that Namaśśivāya the chief of royal cowherd, successively served Udayādityavarman II, Harṣavarman III and other kings, kings named immediately afterward viz. Jayavarman VI, Dharaṇīndravarman I and Sūryavarman II should be understood. This will be more evident from the following facts : First, Yogīśvarapaṇḍita II served as *hotar* the very same rulers from Udayādityavarman II upto Dharaṇīndravarman I[22a]. Secondly, the largely identical inscriptions of Práḥ Vihār and Phnoṃ Sandak clearly state that Divākarapaṇḍita who was the *guru* of the kings Udayādityavarman II and Harṣavarman III acted as the officiating priest on the occasion of the coronation ceremony of the three kings viz Jayavarman VI, Dharaṇīndravarman I and Sūryavarman II[23]. It seems likely that after Jayavarman VI came to exercise control over the Añkor region, eminent sacerdotal personalities like Namaśśivāya, Yogīśvarapaṇḍita II and Divākarapaṇḍita also changed their allegiance and came over to the side of Jayavarman VI. Indeed in none of the three inscriptions cited above viz. Trapāñ Dón On, Saṃroṅ and Phnoṃ Sandak/Práḥ Vihār there is the slightest indication that any other king might have intervened between Harṣavarman III and Jayavarman VI This is, however, not to say that some other person or persons did not pretend to have ruled, either in the whole of the country or in parts thereof between Jayavarman VI and Sūryavarman II. Indeed, it will be shown later that in between the reigns of Dharaṇīndravarman I and Sūryavarman II at least one more king viz Harṣavarman IV will have to be accommodated.

Inscriptions do not speak of any bond of kinship existing between Jayavarman VI and the preceding ruling family which started with the violent seizure of power by Sūryavarman I. According to the evidence of the inscription of Phnoṃ Ruñ of Sūryavarman II[24], Jayavarman VI was the son of one Śri Hiraṇyavarmā and Hiraṇyalakṣmī. Since Hiraṇyavarman has been persistently called a king (st. II : *nṛpa* ; st. IV : *mahīpati* ; and st. V : *janeśa*), it may be held that he was the ruler of a petty principality which may have been the same as Mahīdharapura mentioned in the Tà Prohm inscription (st. XIII) of Jayavarman VII[25]. If king Jayavarman mentioned in the Kuk Yāy Hom inscription[26] refers to Jayavarman VI, as is likely on palaeographic considerations, it would appear that he ruled over Śrī Jayādityapura *(yaś=śrī-jayādityapur-ābhidhāne rājādhirājo=dhigat-ātmalābhaḥ*, st. III). It is quite likely that Mahīdharapura, Jayādityapura and what was known earlier as Bālādityapura, all signified one and the same royal city. In all likelihood it was a city lying to the north of Daṅrèk mountains but its exact location cannot as yet be determined. The kingdom and the dynasty of Mahīdharapura, Coedès holds, started during the troubled days of the reign of Udayādityavarman II[27].

According to the Phnoṃ Ruṅ inscription, Jayavarman VI had an elder brother named Dharaṇīndravarman and also a younger brother called Yuvarāja who had died earlier. Now Jayavarman's accession to the throne of his father was strictly in conformity with the principle of patrilineal succession. It may be recalled that in the north in the kingdom of Bhavapura patrilineal succession had been long in vogue. It is not impossible that in the part of the country nearer to China and Vietnâm the principle of patrilineal succession made its impact felt on the social organization. As such, it was perfectly normal that Hiraṇyavarman would be succeeded by one of his sons. The point to note here is that his successor Jayavarman VI was not the eldest son. It must, however, be conceded that the principle of the right of primogeniture was not much establised in this part of the continent. Moreover, the inscription of Phnoṃ Sandak states that Dharaṇīndravarman, the elder brother of Jayavarman VI, though married, led the life of an ascetic[28] and, as such, might not have been much inclined to reign.

But so far as Jayavarman VI's rule over Aṅkor is concerned, it seems to have been achieved by force pure and simple. The Tà Prohm inscription of Jayavarman VII seems to indicate that Mahīdharapura, possibly identical with Jayādityapura, was the original seat of power of Jayavarman VI and by defeating his enemies he acquired the kingdom and made himself king at Yaśodharapura :

> "*śrīmad-yaśodharapure=dhigat-ādhirājyo=*
> *rājā jit-āri-visaro=jayavarmamadevaḥ*
> *āvāridheḥ pratidiśan=nicakhāna kīrtti-*
> *stambhān=mahīdharapur-ābhijan-āspado=yaḥ*"[29].

However, the *fait accompli* of forcible capture of power by him was sought to be explained away as legitimate in the same inscription of Tà Prohm by the fabrication of a genealogy. His family is stated to have been descended from Śrī Kambu, and Śrutavarman and Śreṣṭhavarman are described as its first two rulers. It is stated that Kambuja-rājalakṣmī who was possibly given in marriage to Bhavavarman of Tchen-la was a princess born in this family[30]. It will be observed that while no dynastic relationship is claimed for Jayavarman VI with the family which ruled immediately before, attempts were made to pass him off as a descendant of Rājendravarman II by virtue of their common affiliation with Kambu and thus to make him appear as a lawful heir to the line of Rājendravarman II. From the Phnoṃ Sandak inscription it is further known that Jayavarman VI had a younger brother called *Yuvarāja* who is known from a Saṃroṅ inscription to have made a grant in A.D. 1096. He predeceased his elder brother and the Phnoṃ Sandak inscription states that after the death of Jayavarman VI, it was his elder brother, Dharaṇīndravarman I, who ascended the throne in Ś. 1029. (=A.D. 1107):

> "*jyeṣṭhasya sa=śrī-jayavarmmadevo=*
> *yasya kṣitīś-ādhipatāṃ vidhātum*
> *bhrātus=svayaṃ pālayitā prajānān=*
> *devādhipatvaṃ suratān=nv=ayāsīt*"[31].

A number of questions may be posed here. What is the significance of the term *yuvarāja* ? Should it be understood to mean heir presumptive or simply as a rank ? If it is taken in the first sense, one may ask, is it that the said youngest brother of Jayavarman VI was a *yuvarāja* of his father Hiraṇyavarman or of his brother Jayavarman himself ? These are questions easy to put but difficult to answer. In this connexion, however, a peculiar custom prevalent in this royal family may be mentioned. The Phnoṃ Sandak inscription referred to above states that Śrī Vijayendralakṣmī was originally given in marriage to this *yuvarāja*. At the time he went to heaven, he gave her away to Jayavarman VI and before his death out of love for the family, Jayavarman VI handed her over to his elder brother Dharaṇīndravarman I[32]. This princess who was successively given to three brothers beginning with the youngest and ending with the eldest has herself been described as the fruit of Fortune and Victory[33]. It may, therefore, be pertinently asked whether she was in any way the cause or source of ascendancy of the family. Is it that the family of Jayavarman VI inherited any right to the kingdom of Aṅkor or any part thereof through her ? It might have been so but for the statement contained in the Phnoṃ Sandak inscription itself to the effect that her country of origin was Āmalakasthala (which was also the home of Bhās-svāminī born in a sacerdotal family and described as an *agramahiṣī* of Jayavarman II[34]) and no royal pedigree is claimed for her. Further, had she any such right, the earliest beneficiary thereof should have been the *yuvarāja*, her first consort. But it has been already noted that this prince was alive at least upto A.D. 1096[35] i.e. to say upto the

16th regnal year of Jayavarman VI. One is thus landed in the improbable situation where the wife of the younger brother holds the right but even during the life-time of this brother, royalty is enjoyed by his elder brother. Thus, any claim over the throne of Aṅkor derived through Śrī Vijayendralakṣmī has had to be discarded.

Whether Jayavarman VI had any claim over the throne of Aṅkor through his mother Hiraṇyalakṣmī is not clear. But mention may be made of the cult of a deceased queen *(kanloṅ kamrateṅ añ)* in the inscription of Pràsàt Trau[36]. The queen very likely refers to Hiraṇyalakṣmī. On the analogy of *kanloṅ kamrateṅ añ ta acas* to describe Mahendradevī, mother of Rājendravarman II in the Pràsàt Einkosei stèle inscription[37], she may be presumed to have some claim over the throne so as to be honoured with a cult of her own. But without any more positive evidence, the point should not be pressed.

As has already been stated, Jayavarman VI was succeeded to the throne by his elder brother Dharaṇīndravarman I in A.D. 1107 (*randhra-kara-śūnya-manassu*= 1029 Ś)[38]. If Jayavarman, mentioned in st. III of the inscription of Kuk Yāy Hom[39] refers to Jayavarman VI, as is likely on palaeographic considerations, the following genealogy is arrived at :

Jayavarman VI   Dharaṇīndra-rājalakṣmī = Dharaṇīndrāditya
↓
Rājendralakṣmī = Br. Tribhuvana-brahmendra
↓
Hiraṇyalakṣmī

It will be seen that the genealogy is traced in the maternal line, implying thereby the operation of the matrilineal principle in matters of descent and inheritance. However, after Jayavarman VI, his brother-in-law Dharaṇīndrāditya did not succeed him. Whether Jayavarman VI had a nephew or grand-nephew (i.e. a son or daughter's son of Dharaṇīndrarājalakṣmī) is not known. The fact remains that Jayavarman's father Hiraṇyavarman was a king. The claim of his mother and wife over the Aṅkorian throne is not established. So the legitimate basis of the accession of both Jayavarman VI and his elder Dharaṇīndravarman I would be the right of patrilineal succession imposed on the Aṅkorian State by a family of northerners.

Dharaṇīndravarman I was succeeded to the throne by Sūryavarman II in A.D. 1113[40]. The largely identical inscriptions of Práḥ Vihār and Phnoṃ Sandak describe him as the grandson in the maternal line of Jayavarman VI and Dharaṇīndravarman I :

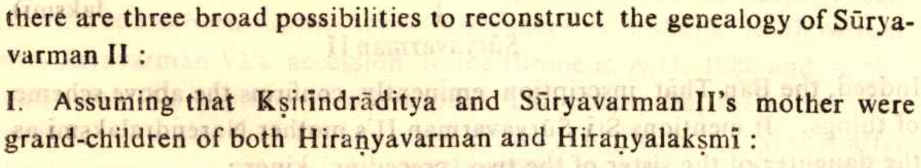
"vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ añ śrī sūryyavarmmadeva ta jī vraḥ cau mātṛpakṣa vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ añ śrī jayavarmmadeva nu vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ añ śrī dharaṇīndravarmmadeva"[40a].

The Ban Thàt inscription mentions Narendralakṣmī as the name of the mother of Sūryavarman II[41]. Some more elaborate information about the ancestry of Sūryavarman II is furnished by the inscription of Phnoṃ Ruṅ According to it, Sūryavarman II was born of the daughter's daughter of Hiraṇyalakṣmī and Kṣitīndrāditya, a grandson *(naptā)* of Hiraṇyavarman :

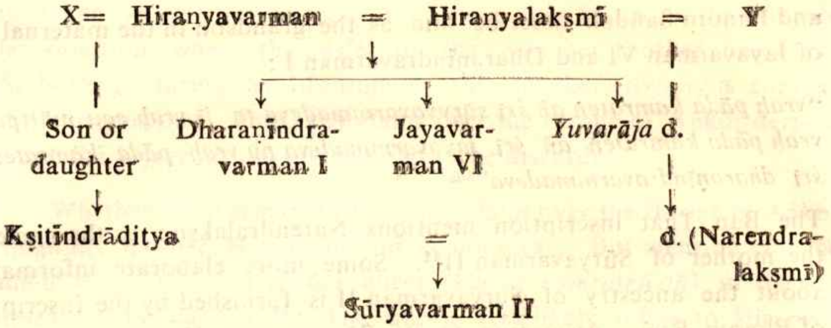
> *"Hiraṇyavarmm-ādbhuta-mānya-naptā*
> *hiraṇyalakṣmyāś=ca sutā-sutāyām*
> *śrī-sūryavarmm-āvanipaṃ kṣitīndr-*
> *āditya-kṣitīśo=janayad=vareṇyam*"[42]

It may be recalled that Hiraṇyavarman and Hiraṇyalakṣmī were the parents of Jayavarman VI and Dharaṇīndravarmen I. From the passage quoted above it is, however, not clear whether Kṣitīndrāditya was the son's son or daughter's son of Hiraṇyavarman and what is more, whether Hiraṇyavarman stood in the same natural and blood relationship with Hiraṇyalakṣmī as well. In the same way, it is not made explicit in the inscription of Phnoṃ Ruṅ whether the daughter's daughter of Hiraṇyalakṣmī was at the same time Hiraṇyvarman's daughter's daughter. Thus there are three broad possibilities to reconstruct the genealogy of Sūryavarman II :

I. Assuming that Kṣitīndrāditya and Sūryavarman II's mother were grand-children of both Hiraṇyavarman and Hiraṇyalakṣmī :

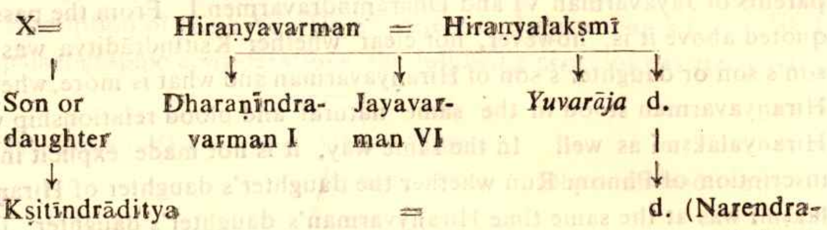


II. Assuming that Kṣitīndrāditya was the son of a son or daughter born of a wife of Hiraṇyavarman other than Hiraṇyalakṣmī and this latter also had a daughter by another husband and this daughter gave birth to a girl, the future mother of Sūryavarman II :


X= Hiranyavarman = Hiranyalakṣmī = Y
Son or daughter
Dharanīndravarman I
Jayavarman VI
Yuvarāja
d.
Kṣitīndrāditya
=
d. (Narendralakṣmī)
Sūryavarman II

In view of the fact that remarriage of women is not unknown in Khmèr epigraphy, there is nothing inherently absurd in the genealogical table drawn above. However, considering the fact that Sūryavarman II liked to connect himself with his two predecessor kings viz. Jayavarman VI and Dharanīndravarman I through his mother *(cau mātṛpakṣa)* as seen above, it will be more logical to regard his mother Narendralakṣmī as a natural sister of these kings. The genealogy may therefore be dressed as follows :

III.


X= Hiranyavarman = Hiranyalakṣmī
Son or daughter
Dharanīndravarman I
Jayavarman VI
Yuvarāja
d.
Kṣitīndrāditya
=
d. (Narendralakṣmī)
Sūryavarman II

Indeed, the Ban That inscription eminently confirms the above scheme of things. It mentions Śrī Sūryavarman II's mother Narendralakṣmī as the daughter of the sister of the two (preceding) kings :

> "*tato=vanīndro=nṛpayos=tayoś=śrī-*
> *narendralakṣmyā=nija-bhāgineyyāḥ*
> *sūnur=bhavānyā=iva kārttikeyo=*
> *durvvāra-dviḍ-dvirad-endra-siṅhaḥ*"[43]

It will be observed that admitting scheme I above would entail acceptance of the principle of patrilineal succession for the royalty since the throne passed mostly in the male line (the reservation is made only because of the uncertainty as to whether Kṣitīndrāditya was the son of a son or of a daughter of Hiranyavarman). The acceptance of scheme II would also make Sūryavarman II a lawful successor of Hiranyavarman essentially in the male line. But it has been noted above that Sūryavarman II claimed descent and the right to throne through his mother and in a matrilineal society his claim was perfectly justified. The only difficulty in accepting the pretension in its entirety is the absence of any evidence to prove that Jayavarman VI and Dharaṇīndravarman I owed their throne to their mother Hiraṇyalakṣmī But to overcome the difficulty it may be recalled that Jayavarman VI had no better claim to the throne of Aṅkor than the right of conqueror. Sūryavarman II only pretended as his lawful successor.

Legal niceties apart, the fact undoubtedly remains that Sūryavarman II was equally a political adventurer. The Ban Thàt inscription states that after completion of studies when he came of age, he realized the desire of the royal fortune of his family which had then fallen in evil days, being enjoyed by two masters :

"vidy-āpavargge nava-yauvanas=sañ=
jāt-ābhilāṣaḥ kula-rājalakṣmyāḥ
tasyāṃ sudhāyām=iva saiṅghikeye
dvī-paty-ādhīnatvam=upāgatāyām".[43a]

The reference to two masters (*dvī-paty-adhīnatvam*) was interpreted by Coedès as referring to the state of strife and disunion consequent upon the emergence of Jayavarman VI on the political arena of the country. He believed that on the one hand 'Harṣavarman III and other rulers' were ruling in Aṅkor region and the south whereas Jayavarman VI and his successor Dharaṇīndravarman I held sway in the north and northwest. This division of the country was put to an end by Sūryavarman II. But it has been shown above that there is nothing to show that after Jayavarman VI's accession to the throne in A.D. 1080 and particularly after his capture of the capital Yaśodharapura, there was little room for Harṣavarman III any more. It may further be noted that after the long reigns of Sūryavarman I (A.D. 1002-1049/50) and Udayādityavarman II (A.D. 1050-1066), a cousin-brother of Harṣavarman III, when this latter came to the throne, he must have been already an old man and it is little likely that he was still alive to contend with Sūryavarman II. It is, however, not impossible that taking advantage of the poor rule of Dharaṇīndravarman I who had a religious bent of mind, there appeared on the scene a political adventurer about whom nothing concrete is known. This would explain the description of royal fortune being enjoyed by two masters. Sūryavarman II had to struggle with both Dharaṇīndravarman I and this contender. It is worth-while to examine this hypothesis. That Dharaṇīndravarman I was one of the contenders of Sūryavarman II admits of no doubt. The Pràsàt Cruṅ stèle inscription (south-western angle) of Jayavarman VII clearly mentions Sūryavarman II's triumph over Dharaṇīndravarman I :

"*pūrvvaṃ śrī-dharaṇīndravarmma-nṛpateś=*
śrī-sūryvarmmā vinā
rakṣāṃ rājyam=aharyudh=aiva jagṛhe . ."[44].

The other rival of Sūryavarman II is more difficult to identify. But it will be seen that Jayarājacūḍāmani, the mother of Jayavarman VII (A.D 1181-1220) was the daughter of a king called Harṣavarman. On calculation it will be found that it is impossible for the daughter of Harṣavarman III (A.D. 1066-1080) to marry Dharaṇīndravarman II who ruled some time after A.D. 1150 and bear him a son, the future Jayavarman VII who came to rule in A.D. 1181. Hence king Harṣavarman, the father of Jayarājacūḍāmaṇi has to be accommodated in the list of Khmèr kings as Harṣavarman IV and can no longer be regarded as hypothetical[45]. It must, however, be remembered that he is not even called a king in the Tà Prohm and other inscriptions of Jayavarman VII which mention him. In the Tà Prohm inscription he is simply stated to have been descended from Bhavavarman of Kambuja and a more precise relationship of this king with any of his predecessors is also not given. He was in all likelihood a political adventurer and ruled only for a very short period after which Sūryavarman II defeated him. As the father-in-law of his cousin - brother Dharaṇīndravarman II, he would be only one generation away in the ascending line from him.

From what has been stated above it is clear that Sūryavarman II combined in himself two kinds of rights (i) right of a lawful claimant in matrilineal succession and (ii) right of the conqueror. Such seems to be precisely the significance of the following passage contained in a Vat Ph'u inscription :

" *vāṇ-āgni-paṅktibhiḥ śrī-sūryyavarmmadevo=*
dhād rājyan=dvandva-samāsataḥ"

"In the year marked by 935 (Śaka) Śrī Sūryavarman came to rule the kingdom by means of war (*dvandva*) and peace (*samāsa*)"[46].

The last date of Sūryavarman II known from epigraphy is A.D. 1145 though Cham sources seem to indicate that he ruled at least upto A.D. 1050.[47] He is said to have been succeeded to the throne by Dharaṇīndravarman II, the son of Mahīdharāditya who is called a nephew (*bhāgineya*) of Jayavarman VI and a younger brother of the mother of Sūryavarman II :

"*tad-bhāgineyo=vinay orjita-śrīś=śrī-*
mahīdharāditya=iti pratītaḥ
śrī-sūryyavarmm-āvanipāla-mātṛ-
jaghanyajo=yo=vijit-ārivarggaḥ"[48].

From a perusal of the dynastic informations contained in such inscriptions as Tà Prohm, Phnoṃ Ruṅ and Ban Thât it will be clear that the legal basis of the claim of the new king Dharaṇīndravarman II is sound on neither principle of succession, patrilineal or matrilineal. First, his father Mahīdharāditya is not known to have ever reigned. However, it is pointed out that the latter's wife and mother of Dharaṇīndravarman II viz. Rājapatīndralakṣmī was born in a matrilineal family of Śrī Suvīravatī (*śrī-suvīravaty-āspada-mātṛvaṃśa*)[49] but she settled at a place called Rājapatīśvaragrāma (*rājapatīśvaragrāma-kṛta-sthitir=yā*)[50]. From the above it may appear that perhaps taking advantage of the troubles and reverses of the later years of Sūryavarman II, Mahīdharāditya carved out an independent principality of his own with its headquarters at Rājapatīśvaragrāma. But had such been the case, it could have been referred to more directly or at least Mahīdharāditya could very well have been described as king by some such expression as *nṛpa, mahīpati, narādhipa, janeśa, avanipāla* etc. He is simply praised as having defeated his enemies (*vijitārivargga*). So the conclusion is that Mahīdharāditya did not ever reign, even over a small principality. Nor is there anything on record to show that his father or any of his paternal relations actually did so. Dharaṇīndravarman II could connect himself with the royalty only through his father's maternal grandmother, Hiraṇyalakṣmī but it has already been shown that this lady is not known to have any intrinsic right over the throne. But even if she had any right, in the patrilineal system of succession, she could not normally bequeath the same to the son of the son of her daughther.

If Dharaṇīndravarman II did not inherit the right to the throne through his paternal relations, he did not have it from his mother, Rājapatīndralakṣmī either. From what has been stated above, she is stated simply to have hailed from Śrī Suvīravatī and to have later settled at Rājapatīśvaragrāma. She has been endowed with no halo of royalty. Similarity of name may suggest some connexion between her and Dharaṇīndrarājalakṣmī, a daughter of Hiraṇyalakṣmī but this is nowhere stated. Could Dharaṇīndravarman II claim the throne through his wife Jayarājacūḍāmaṇi, stated to be a daughter of Harṣavarman (*Harṣavarmātmajā*)[51] ? As seen above, he has to be identified as Harṣavarman IV but the inscriptions do not throw any light as to his ancestry more directly so that the legality of his right over the Aṅkorian throne could be established.

From the foregoing discussion it will be clear that Dharaṇīndravarman II did not have any claim to the throne through either of his parents, but he might possibly have some claim through his wife. the daughter of Harṣavarman IV. But the inconspicuous mention of Harṣavarman who has not even been called a king in the Tà Prohm and other inscriptions would hardly justify such a conclusion. One is therefore left with no other option than to regard Dharaṇīndravarman II equally as a political adventurer. There is an inherent contradiction in claiming the throne from both Jayavarman VI and Dharaṇīndravarman I on the one hand and Harṣavarman IV on the other. It has indeed been suggested by Coedès that he came to the throne as a result of some palace revolution and this, according to him, also explains the silence epigraphy observes with regard to the last years of the reign of Sūryavarman II[52].

From the large stèle inscription of Phimānàkàs it appears that political trouble broke out in Kambuja after Dharaṇīndravarman II which was either caused or inflamed by Cham invasions which compelled the son of Dharaṇīndravarman II viz. the future Jayavarman VII to take shelter in Campā[53]. Whether he was taken there as hostage is not known. The large stèle inscription of Phimānàkàs further states that when the throne of Kambuja was occupied by Yaśovarman II, the future Jayavarman VII came to his rescue. Additional information is available from a Bantāy Chmàr inscription as also from the bas-relief, engraved on the temple wall there. From these it is learnt that when Yaśovarman II was threatened by machinations of the conspirator Rāhu[54], Indrakumāra, the young son of Jayavarman VII fought for him. Though the bond of kinship existing between Yaśovarman II and the future Jayavarman VII is nowhere indicated, such cordial relation between them suggests that they were close kins. By virtue of patrilineal principle of succession, the throne should have passed from Dharaṇīndravarman II to Jayavarman VII but actually Yaśovarman II sat on the throne. It is tempting to suggest that Yaśovarman II was a maternal uncle or cousin of Jayavarman VII or in other words a brother or son of the brother of Jayarājacūḍāmaṇi.

From the combined evidence of the large stèle inscription of Phimānàkàs[55] and the inscription of Pràsàt Cruṅ of Aṅkor[56] it is learnt that Yaśovarman II was defeated and killed by a usurper called Tribhuvanāditya who may be identical with Rāhu mentioned in the Bantāy Chmàr inscription referred to above. From the combined evidence of the silver plate inscriptions of Phum Svam[57], it appears that Tribhuvanāditya was possibly ruling in A.D. 1165 but soon after A.D. 1170 Jaya Indravarman IV of Campā led an invasion against Kambuja but the outcome of the battle was indecisive. So Jaya Indravarman IV once again attacked Kambuja in A.D. 1177, this time by sea. His fleet, piloted by a ship-wrecked Chinese sailor, came upto the mouth of the Mékong. Tribhuvanāditya was taken by surprise and killed :

> "*tasmād (tribhuvanāditya)=api*
> *cāmpendro=jaya-indravarmma-vidito=vīryy-āvalepād=iti*"[58]
> and
> "*yudhi saṅgrahitum*
> *vipāka-yuktan=nṛpatim vavādhe*"[59]

The large stèle inscription of Phimānàkàs informs us that Jayavarman VII returned from Vijaya (i.e. Binh Dinh) but it is not stated exactly when. According to the same source, he finally captured the throne after attaining victory over the king of Campā :

> "*....yatnais=tāraṇair=apāra—*
> *vīr-āmvudhin=taṃ samare vijitya*
> *(lavdhābhi)ṣ(e)ko=vijay-ādi-jityā*
> *bhuvaṃ=viśuddhāṃ vubhuje stavācyām*"[60]

It will thus be seen that Jayavarman VII won the throne by dint of his prowess and not by virtue of any hereditary right, either in the paternal or in the maternal line. But after having seized power, he sought to legitimize his claim to the throne and built up an elaborate genealogy which sought to connect him with the tradition of descent from Kambu and Merā, Śrutavarman and Śreṣṭhavarman of Śreṣṭhapura who was the sun in the sky which was the race of Śrī Kambu (*śrī-kambu-vaṃśāmbara-bhāskaro=yo)*[61] and Bhavavarman of Bhavapura (the first ruler of Kambuja/Tchen-la to extend his sway over Fou-nan) through Kambujarājalakṣmī, a princess of the family of Śrutavarman and Śreṣṭhavarman[62]. The immediate ancestors of Jayavarman VII are mentioned in the Tà Prohm inscription : His paternal grand-father Mahīdharāditya evidently hailing from Mahīdahrapura was a nephew *(bhāgineya)* of Jayavarman VI described as the beloved of the people of Mahīdharapura *(mahīdharapur-ābhijan-āspada*, st. XIII). Mahīdharāditya was also a younger brother of the mother of Sūryavarman II (*śrī sūryyavarmm-āvanipāla-matṛ-jaghanyajo*, st. XIV). His wife Rājapatīndralakṣmī bore him a son viz. Dharaṇīndravarman II who produced on Jayarājacūḍāmani, the daughter of Harṣavarman (IV), the king Jayavarman VII (st. XVIII). According to the large stèle inscription of Phimānàkàs Jayavarman VII had for chief queen *(agradevī)* successively the two sisters viz. Jayarājadevī, the younger sister and Indradevī, the elder one[63]. The genealogy of the two queens as given in this inscription (sts. XXXIII-XXXIV) may be dressed as follows :

Rudravarman=d. a Brāhmaṇa=Rājendralakṣmī

Ja.... = d.

Indradevī Jayarājadevī

In the same inscription Indradevī has been described as born of a *brāhmaṇa* but by her marriage she belonged to the royal family (*dvijātmajā rājakulottamā yā*, st. C). The facts of her being born of a *brāhmaṇa*, and the name of her maternal grand-mother being Rājendralakṣmī and similarity of other names help correlate the genealogy given above with that contained in the Kuk Yāy Hom inscription[64] which traces descent in the female line as follows :

(Hiraṇyavarman=Hiraṇyalakṣmī)

Jayavarman VI Dharaṇīndrarāja-lakṣmī = Dharaṇīndrāditya

d. Rājendralakṣmī=Br. Tribhuvana-brahmendra

Hiraṇyalakṣmī

Combining the genealogical tables given above the following table may be arrived at :

(Hiraṇyavarman=Hiraṇyalakṣmī)

Jayavarman VI Dharaṇīndrarāja-lakṣmī = Dharaṇīndrāditya

Rudravarman= X Rājendralakṣmī=Br. Tribhuvana-bramhendra

Br. ja....... = Hiraṇyalakṣmī

Indradevī Jayarājadevī

= =

Jayavarman VII

From the above it will be seen that through the direct maternal line of his queens Jayarājadevī and Indradevī, Jayavarman VII could claim the heritage of Jayavarman VI but the claim has never been placed. In the light of epigraphic evidence the genealogy of kings from Jayavarman VI to Jayavarman VII has been shown in the enclosed table.

Jayavarman VII came to the throne in A.D. 1181[65] and is believed to have reigned upto A.D. 1220.

Śrī Indravarman II seems to have been the immediate successor to Jayavarman VII. Inscriptions, however, refer to the following three or four sons of Jayavarman VII : (i) Sūryakumāra, son born of the chief queen Jayarājadevī and author or executor of the Tà Prohm inscription ; (ii) Vīrakumāra, son born of Indradevī and author or executor of the inscription of Práḥ Khan; (iii) Indravarman, son born of Jayarājadevī and appointed governor of Lavo (*lavodayeśo*, st. LVII)[66], and (iv) Indrakumāra whose statue has been found in the central chapel of Bantāy Chmàr. From the Bantāy Chmàr inscription[67] it is not clear whether the prince (*rājaputra*) Śrī Indrakumāra also fell in the battle against Rāhu along with the two *sañjaks* who had sacrifieed their lives to save him. Given the great similarity of name, it is also very likely that Indravarman and Indrakumāra refer to one and the same prince. Since a divinity having aspects similar to his was erected in the temple of Bantāy Chmàr, the presumption is that he also fell dead in the battle, but this cannot be definitively established. Indeed greater is the possibility of this prince Indra varman/kumāra being identical with Śrī Indravarman II who is known from the inscription of the temple of Mangalārtha at Aṅkor Thoṃ as the successor of Jayavarman VII. Here would therefore be a case of patrilineal succession and what is more, the son born of the chief queen, anointed earlier, succeeding the father to the throne in preference to other sons all of whom cannot be supposed to have predeceased their father. According to the same inscription, Śrī Indravarman II went to heaven some time before 1165 Śaka (=A.D. 1243)[68]. The next king known from inscriptions is Jayavarman VIII-Parameśvarapada. But nothing is known as to his relationships with Jayavarman VII and/or Śrī Indravarman II or even whether Jayavarman VIII was the immediate successor to Śrī Indravarman II.

Jayavarman VIII married the second daughter of Śrīprabhā and Śrī Jayamahāpradhāna and conferred upon her the title of Śrīcakravartīrāja-devī[69]. Either to her or to some other queen of Jayavarman VIII was born a daughter named Indrabhūpeśvara-cūḍā. She was given in marriage to Śrī Śrīndravarman[70]. According to the Bantāy Srei inscription, Śrī Śrīndravarman along with his first wife and daughter of king

Jayavarman VIII viz. *vraḥ bhagavati kamreteṅ añ* Śrī Śrīndrabhūpeśvaracūḍā was consecrated *yuvarāja* by king Jayavarman VIII. According to the Aṅkor Vat inscription[71], Jayavarman VIII made his *hotar* Vidyeśavid officiate in the ceremony of consecration of Śrī Śrīndravarman. This will make him appear as the natural and legal heir to Jayavarman VIII. From the inscription of the temple of Maṅgalārtha at Aṅkor Thoṃ it further seems probable that Jayavarman VIII abdicated the throne in favour of his son-in-law :

> *"mūrttyor...di draṣṭuṃ (jām)ātṛ-srīndra-bhūpatau*
> *vipra-bhū(yuta)-rājyaṃ yo=(dattvā) vrahmālayaṅ=gataḥ*"[72].

But the succession does not appear to have been peaceful. There are some discreet and veiled references in a Bantāy Srei inscription to the earth being contended by a number of pretenders to the white umbrella. This can only mean that Śrī Śrīndravarman had to fight with a number of rival aspirants to the throne. It also clearly states that the earth was suffering under the rule of an old king and it was he who rescued her from her sorry plight[73].

The old king referred to above can denote none else than Jayavarman VIII and this would invalidate the restitution proposed by Finot in st. XLI of the inscription of the temple of Maṅgalārtha at Aṅkor Thoṃ quoted above. But that there was some contest for the succession even during the life-time of Jayavarman VIII is evident from the account left by the Chinese envoy Tcheou Tà-kouan who visited Cambodia in A.D. 1295-96 : "The new king is the son-in-law of the former king. At first, he was entrusted with the command of the army. The father-in-law loved his daughter. The daughter stole from him the golden sword and brought it to her husband. As a result, the real son was prevented from the succession. He (the son of the late king) conspired to raise the army (in revolt) but the new king came to know of it, and cut his toes and put him in a dark chamber"[74].

In the above account the new king evidently refers to Śrī Śrīndravarman since the Pāli inscription found at Kôk Svây Cèk of the year 1230 Śaka (=A.D. 1308) states that Śrī Śrīndravarman became king at Yaśodharapura in A.D. 1296 :

> *"siri-sirindavamm-ākhya—bhūpeso guṇabhūsano*
> *yasodharapure āsi maṅgal-indu-yam-indunā*"[75].

It will be noted that to Tcheou Tạ̀-kouan, a Chinese, patrilineal succession was regarded as the only normal thing and that is why he qualifies the unfortunate prince worsted by Śrī Śrīndravarman as 'the real son of the king' and considers the capture of power by Śrī Śrīndravarman as the outcome of some chicanery practised by his wife, the beloved daughter of the predecessor king on the latter. However, in a matrilineal society and in the earlier period of Cambodian history succession to the throne by a son-in-law was perfectly normal. But it appears that some change in the structure of society was taking place and the succession by Śrī Śrīndravarman to the throne of his father-in-law came to be considered rather irregular. This new attitude seems to have been reflected in the statement contained in an inscription from Bantāy Srei (dated 1226 Ś.=A.D. 1304) to the effect that Śrī Śrīndravarman was consecrated king by the Brāhmaṇas, *ācāryas* and officers of the kingdom[76]. This would rather suggest the involvement of the officialdom in a palace revolution as a result of which Śrī Śrīndravarman came to the throne.

According to the inscription of the temple of Maṅgalārtha at Aṅkor Thoṃ Śrī Śrīndrajayavarman was consecrated *yuvarāja* i.e. heir-presumptive (*yauvarājyasthite*) by Śrī Śrīndravarman[77]. Śrī Śrīndrajayavarman has been described in the same inscription as belonging simply to the family of Śrī Śrīndravarman (*Śrīndrabhūpasya vaṃśas=cá yo*)[78] but the precise nature of relation has not been stated. But from similar references to dynastic affiliations given in the inscriptions of Yaśovarman I and Rājendravarman II[79], it would not be unjustified to conclude that their relationship was based on matrilineal kinship. Indeed from the fact of consecration as *yuvarāja* of Śrī Śrīndravarman, who was a son-in-law of king Jayavarman VIII, it may be concluded that in all likelihood, Śrī Śrīndrajayavarman also was a son-in-law of the king Śrī Śrīndravarman.

In 1229 Śaka (=A.D. 1307) king Śrī Śrīndravarman either died or abdicated in favour of Śrī Śrīndrajayavarman as stated in the inscription of the temple of Maṅgalārtha at Aṅkor Thoṃ :

> "*nava-dvi-dvi-hṛdi svarggaṃ vijetum=aga* (*man=nṛpaḥ*)
> *yauvarājyasthite dattvā rājyaṃ yo=bhaga...*"[80].

In place of *agaman=nṛpaḥ*, Coedès reads *agamad=vanam* and thinks that after abdicating the throne, Śrī Śrīndravarman took to the life of a hermit and resided in a forest[81].

The next king mentioned in the Aṅkor Vat inscription of Vidyeśavid is Jayavarmādi-Parameśvara. The name should better be taken as referring to a king Jayavarman having *Parameśvara* as his *nom d'apothéose*. We may call him Jayavarman IX. It is not known whether he was the immediate successor of Śrī Śrīndrajayavarman. Calculations based on astronomical details contained in a Bàyon inscription tend to show that the first regnal year of Jayavarman IX – Jayavarmādi-Parameśvara would fall in A.D. 1327[82]. The Aṅkor Vat inscription states that the earth was plunged in the sea of evils of time from which like another Varāha (an incarnation of Viṣṇu), the king rescued her :

> *"kāla-doṣ-odadhau dhātrīṃ magnām=uddhṛtya niścal(ām).*
> *(bhū)yo vabhāra yaś=śrīmān śrī-varāha=iv=āparaḥ"*[83].

If the allusion has any historical significance and be not dismissed as another example of banality so often found in praise of kings, it is to be admitted that the succession of Śrī Jayavarmādi-Parameśvara-Jayavarman IX was also not a peaceful one and he owed the throne not to any hereditary right, patrilineal or matrilineal, but absolutely to his military prowess. Jayavarmādi Parameśvara-Jayavarman IX is the king last known from Indo-Khmèr epigraphy. He ceased to rule some time before the middle of the 14th century A.D. when the middle Khmèr literature mentions a king called Nippānbàt (=Nirvāṇapada or Mohānippān) but nothing is known of his ancestry and his relationship with the earlier rulers of Kambuja.

NOTES

1. Tà Keo inscription, B, st. VIII, I.S.C.C., No. XV, p. 106. For a discussion on the import of introduction of caste system in Cambodia see our work entitled *The Sdok Kak Thoṃ Inscription :* Part I : *A Study in Indo-Khmèr Civilization,* pp. 87-124.

2. K. 989, B, 1. 33, I.C., vol. VII, p. 177.

3. K. 991, st III, I.C., vol. VII, p. 192.

4. A Phnoṃ Sandak inscription (K. 195, III, I.C., vol. VI, p. 249) mentions an order of Sūryavarman I which was notified to the *vraḥ kamarateṅ an̄* Tapasvin of Śivasthāna in 970 Śaka. Accordingly, the Tapasvin established an *āśrama* and made gift of slaves etc. to the temple in the following year i.e. in 971 Śaka. From the fact that no new king has been mentioned, it may be presumed that Sūryavarman I was still reigning. For the very same reason the inscription No. IV at Práḥ Vihār (K. 380, I.C., vol. VI, p. 260 ff.) bearing the date 971 Śaka (=A.D. 1049) will have to be dated in the reign of Sūryavarman I. But according to the Sdok Kak Thoṃ inscription Udayādityavarman II came to the throne in 971 Śaka : "*man vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ an̄ śrī udayādityavarmmadeva svey vraḥ rājya ta gi 971 śaka*" (4.81, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XLIII, p. 92). The door-pillar inscription of Pràsàt Rolûḥ (K. 219, I.C., vol. VII, p. 45) gives the exact date of Udayādityavarman II's accession : "*971 śaka aṣṭamī roc phālguna*", "eighth day (rather tithi) of the dark fortnight of the month of Phālguna of 971 Śaka" (1.1). It may thus be stated that Udayādityavarman II ascended the throne very late in 971 Śaka. The difficulty arises when it is found that the identical texts of the inscriptions of Práḥ Vihār (K. 383) and Phnoṃ Sandak(K. 194) state that the reign of Udayādityavarman II began in 972 Śaka ("*lvaḥ ta rājya vraḥ pāda kamrateṅ an̄ śrī udayādityavarmmadeva to svey rājya nu 972 śaka*" 11. I. 10-11, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XLIII, p. 141). The discrepancy may be resolved on the assumption that while in the Sdok Kak Thoṃ and Pràsàt Rolûḥ inscriptions the date refers to the evolved year, that given in the Práḥ Vihār and Phnoṃ Sandak inscriptions refers to the current year.

5. st. VI, I.S.C.C., No. XIX, p. 195.

6. Southern door-pillar, 11. 3-4, I.C., vol. VI, p. 294.

7. K. 237, I.C., vol. VI, p. 295, n. 4.

8. K. 660, I.C., vol. I, p. 196.

9. See note 7 above.

10. K. 254, B, 11. 2-4, I.C., vol. III, p. 185.

11. *loc. cit.*, I.C., vol. VI, p. 294.

12. K. 782, *sapt-āsu-vivarair*, st. V, I.C., vol. I, p. 223.

13. *ibid*, p. 222.

14. e.g., the revolts of (i) Aravindahṛdaya (sts XXIV-XXV, Pràsàt Ngouk inscription) who established his sway in the central region of the country : (ii) Slvat (Pràsàt Ngouk, c, 11.6-20, I.S.C.C., No. XVII, pp. 149-156) ; and (iii) general Kaṃvau who came to occupy all the different districts ("*man kaṃvau khmāṅ ni ter cāp viṣaya phoṅ*", Pràsàt Práḥ Ksèt, K. 237, northern door-pillar, I.C., vol. VI, p. 294).

15. st. IX, I.C., vol. III, p. 183.

16. cf. *"yo=rājagop-ādhipatiḥ kṛtaś=śrī-jayavarmmaṇā*
rājñā śrī-dharaṇīndreṇa viśvasad=evam=arpitaḥ.
śrī-sūryyavarmmadevasya rājñaḥ karuṇayā gāvam
kāla-naṣṭām=api bhuvañ=cakāra punar=ādivat.
—sts. X—XI

and

"añ aṃcās varṣa chnāṃ tap pra(m)piy gi nu gāl ta
varṇa nā vraḥ canmat ta 989 śaka ta rāja vraḥ pāda
kammrateṅ añ śrī udayādityavarmmadeva vraḥ pāda
kammrateṅ añ sadāśivapada vraḥ pāda kammrateṅ añ
parama-kaivalyapada vraḥ pāda kammrateṅ añ paramaniṣkala-
pada vraḥ pāda kammrateṅ añ śrī sūryyavarmmadeva"
—B, 11.2-7, I.C., vol. III, pp. 183, 185.

17. cf. A. Bergaigne, Chronologie de l' ancien royaume Khmèr, J.A., 1884(I), p. 69 ; E. Aymonier, *Le Cambodge,* vol. III, p. 509 ; Coedès, Nouvelles données sur la dynastie de Mahīdharapura, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXIX, p. 298.

18. K. 27, northern door-pillar, 11.6, 11, *loc. cit.*

19. See below, p. 93 and note 65. It is wrongly statd in the text that the Tà Prohm inscription gives the date of accession of Jayavarman VII.

20. st. II, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XLII, p. 15.

21. *vide* Coedès, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXIX, pp. 298-300.

22. 11. 65-67, I.C., vol. IV, p. 181.

23. B.E.F.E.O., vol. XLIII, pp. 141-142.

24. K. 384, sts II-VI, I.C., vol. V, p. 299.

25. st. XIII, B.E.F.E.O., vol. VI, p. 51=I.K., No. 177, p. 462.

26. K. 86, I.C., vol. V, p. 284.

27. Nouvelles données sur la dynastie de Mahīdharapura, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXIX, p. 302.

28. *"hr(ī)-kānti-kīrtti-kamalābhir=ajasra-yuktas=*
sastrīkatām=adhigato=pi tapasvi-vṛttiḥ
bhūbhṛc=chiro-nihita-pāda-talo=dyugāmi-
drṣṭir=vvisandhir=apareṇa kar-odyato=yaḥ"
—st. XXV, I C., vol. VI, p. 303.

29. See note 25 above.

30. see *ante* p. 20.

31. st. XXIII, *loc. cit.*

32. *"Iyan=dyu-lakṣmīś=ca tayor=vviśeṣo*
n=āsīd=iyaṃ v=ātiśayena sādhyā
y=ek=īva dattā yuvarāja-bhartrā
svar-ggacchatā śrī-jayavarmmaṇe=pi
kul-ānurāgād=anugacchat=āpi
svar-ggacchataś=śrī-yuvarāja-pūrvvan=
dattā punaś=śrī-jayavarmmaṇā yā
mūrtt=eva bhaktir=dharaṇīndradeve".
—sts. XXXI–XXXII, *loc. cit.*, p. 304.

33. *"devī yā yat phalaṃ śrī-jayayor..."*, st. XXVIII, *loc. cit.*

34. Tà Kev inscription, A, sts. II-III, I.S.C.C., No. XV, p. 103.

35. Inscription of Saṃroṅ, K. 258, A, 11.74-75, I.C., vol. IV, p. 181.

36. K. 249, I.C., vol. III, p. 98.

37. K. 669, D, 11.25-26, 37-38, I.C., vol. I, p. 173.

38. Phnoṃ Sandak inscription, st. XXIV, I.C., vol. VI, p. 303.

39. *loc. cit.*

40. Práḥ Vihār-Phnoṃ Sandak inscriptions, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XLIII, p. 142; also "*vāṇ-āgni-paṅktibhiḥ śrī-sūryavarmmadevo=dhād=rājyan=dvandva=samāsatah*".
—Vat Ph'u inscription, K. 366, I.C., vol V, p. 289.

41. C, *sarga* III, st. XXX, *Notes d' Épigraphie*, p. 213.

42. K. 384, st. VI, I.C., vol. V, p. 299.

43. See note 41 above. The inscription of Kuk Yāy Hom mentions Rājendralakṣmī as the daughter of Dharaṇīndrarājalakṣmī and grand-daughter of Hiraṇyalakṣmī. If this Hiraṇyalakṣmī be identical with her namesake who was the mother's mother of Narendralakṣmī, mother of Sūryavarman II, as is very much likely, it would follow that Narendralakṣmī and Rājendralakṣmī were either co-uterine, uterine or more probably first maternal cousin-sisters. Rājendralakṣmī, again, is known from the large stèle inscription of Phimānàkàs, as the maternal grand-mother of Jayarājadevī and her elder sister Indradevī, both holding successively the status of chief queen of Jayavarman VII.

43a. st. XXXII, *loc. cit.*

44. st. CVIII, I.C., vol. IV, p. 219.

45. Coedès, Nouvelles données etc., B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXIX, p. 304.

46. See note 40 above.

47. Coedès, *Les États* etc , p. 294.

48. Tà Prohm, Práḥ Khan and Pràsàt Cruṅ of Aṅkor inscriptions, st. XIV, *loc. cit.*; I.K., No. 177, p. 462.

49. Práḥ Khan inscription, st. XV, B E.F.E.O., vol. XLI, p. 272=I.K., p. 477.

50. I.K., No. 177, st. XV, p. 463.

51. *ibid.*, st. XVIII.

52. *Les États* etc., p. 298.

53. sts. XXXVI-XXXIX, LXV, LXVI, I.C., vol. II, pp. 166, 169.

54. Coedès, Quelques suggestions sur la méthode à suivre pour interpréter les bas-reliefs de Banteay Chmàr et de la galérie intérieure du Bàyon, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXXII, pp. 76-78.

55. *loc. cit.*

56. See note 58 below.

57. K. 418, B.E.F.E.O., vol. IV, p. 676 ff. See also Majumdar, I.K., No. 176, pp. 458-59.

58. D, st. CVIII, 1.30:

"*bhrātur=yaśovarmmaṇaḥ*
bhūmā daityatamojayāt tribhuvan-ādityaś=ca tasmād=api
cāmpendro=jaya-indravarmma-vidito=vīryy-āvalepād=iti",
I.C., vol. IV, p. 219.

59. Large stèle inscription of Phimānàkàs, C, st. LXIX, I.C., vol. II, p. 160.

60. st. LXX, *loc. cit.*, p. 170.

61. I.K., No. 177, st. VII, p. 461.

62. sts VI, VIII-X, *ibid.*

62a. *ibid*, pp. 462-63, sts X-XV, XVIII.

63. sts XXX and XCV, *loc. cit.*

64. K. 86, I.C., vol. V, pp. 283-286.

65. cf. Large stèle inscription of Phimānàkàs, st. V, I.C., vol II, p. 164: "*ved-āmvar-aik-endubhir=āpta-rājyo*". Temple inscription of Maṅgalārtha at Aṅkor Thoṃ, st. IV, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXV, p. 397 :"*netr-āntar-endu-hṛdaye=yo-rājyam parilavdhavān*".

66. Large stèle inscription of Phimānàkàs, st. LVII, *loc. cit.*, p. 168 ; B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXIX, p. 326.

67. See note 54 above.

68. "*pañca-ṣaṭ-candre-candre=bde (ga)tasya śrīndravarmmaṇaḥ*
ārādhyac=chivaṃ śāntyai yo=bhīmapura-saṃsthitam"
—st. XIII, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXV, p. 398.

69. "*dvayoḥ putryor=dvitīy=āpi mahiṣī jayavarmmaṇaḥ*
śrī-cakravarti-rāj-ādi-devy=ābhikhy ātivallabhā"
—st. XVIII, *ibid.*

70. *Mémoire Archéologique*, École Francaise d' Extrême-Orient, vol. I, No. 4^2, p. 79.

71. I.S.C.C., No. LXV, sts LI-LII, pp. 572-573 :
"*kṛtvā yajnāny=anekāni dattvā sarvvasva-dakṣiṇām*
tasmai sa=śrīndravarmmāṇam=ābhi(ṣ)e(citavān nṛpaḥ)
so=bhiṣeka-vidhau tasya mataś=śrī-jayavarmmaṇā
parameśena śakrasya gurur=guru(varo yathā)."

72. st. XLI, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXV, p. 399.

73. *Mémoire Archéologique*, E.F.E.O., vol. I, No. 5, p. 82=I.K., No. 189, p. 538 ff :
"*dhātrī-bhṛtā kṣitibhṛt=āpa purātanena*
prāyo-manāpam=ativistara-kaṇṭakatvāt
yen=āpa kaṇṭakatay=ābhinavā tu yūnā
saṃrakṣitā khalu manāg=api nāmanāpam
kṣoṇibhujāṃ bhuja–bhujaṅgavareṇa kṛtvā
dhātrīṃ samudra-vasanāmapadaṃ dhruvaṃ yaḥ
sākṣād=adṛṣṭam=asam=aika-sit-ātapatra-
vyājena śauklyam=adhikaṃ yaśasāṃ vitene" —sts XII—XIII.

74. P. Pelliot, *Mémoires sur les coutumes du Cambodge de Teheou Tà-kouan* (version nouvelle, Paris, 1951), sec. 40, p. 34.

75. st. II, B.E.F.E O., vol. XXXVI, p. 14.

76. See note 70 above.

77. st. XLVII, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXV, p. 400.

78. st. XLVIII, *ibid.*

79. see *ante*, Appendix to Chapter III, pp. 52—55.

80. st. LXVII, *loc. cit.*

81. B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXXVI, p. 15.

82. Coedès, La date d'avènement de Jayavarma-parameśvara, B.E.F.E.O., vol. XXVIII, pp. 145-146.

83. I.S.C C., No. LXV, st. LXIX, p. 575=I.K., No. 191, p. 554.

84. Coedès, *Les États* etc., p. 412.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages the *de facto* and *de jure* position with regard to succession of some seventy-two kings ruling over more or less extended regions of Cambodia has been discussed. The study begins with Kauṇḍinya/Hiuen-tien and ends with the accession of Nippañbàt or Mohānippānbàt, the first king to be mentioned in the Middle Khmèr literature. From this study has been excluded the question of succession of three or four rulers of Cānāśa/Cānāśapura for the simple reason that though they were vassal kings of the Aṅkorian rulers of the 10th century A.D., they did not rule strictly speaking in what is known as Cambodia The findings of the present study may be summarized in the following manner :

I. *Succession of kings according to the patrilineal principle :*

A. Definite cases :

Fou-nanese period

(i) P'an-P'an, second son of Houen pan-houang.
(ii) Tchang, son of general Fan-che-man.
(iii) Śreṣṭhavarman, son of Śrutavarman.
(iv) Lieou-ta-pa-mo, illegitimate son of Cho-ye-pa-mo.

Tchen-la period

(v) Īśānavarman I, son of Citrasena-Mahendravarman.
(vi) Jayadevī, daughter of Jayavarman I.

Period of division of Tchena-la

(vii) Devāditya, son of Śrīndrāditya of Bhavapura.
(viii) Dharmāditya, son of Devāditya.

Aṅkorian period

(ix) Jayavarman III, son of Jayavarman II.
(x) Indravarman, son of king Pṛthivīndravarman.
(xi) Yaśovarman I, son of Indravarman I.
(xii) Harṣavarman I
(xiii) Īśānavarman II } son of Yaśovarman I.
(xiv) Harṣavarman II, son of Jayavarman IV.
(xv) Rājendravarman II, son of Mahendravarman of Bhavapura.
(xvi) Jayavarman V, son of Rājendravarman II.
(xvii) Jayavarman VI
(xviii) Dharaṇīndravarman I } sons of king Hiraṇyavarman.

(xix) Jayavarman VII, son of Dharaṇīndravarman II.
(xx) Indravarman II, son of Jayavarman VII.

B. *Probable cases of patrilineal succession of kings.*

(i) Kin-cheng described by the Chinese as the legitimate heir to Fan-che-man. Since the Chinese understood legitimacy only in the patrilineal line, Kin-cheng may be presumed to have been a son of Fan-che-man.
(ii) Cho-ye-pa-mo (=Jayavarman) was very probably a son of Śreṣṭhavarman.
(iii) Jayavarman I, possibly son of Bhavavarman II.
(iv) Śambhuvarman, possibly a son of Jayavarman I of Tchen-la.

II. *Cases of matrilineal succession of kings :*

A. Definite cases :

Fou-nanese period :

(i) Fan-tchang, nephew of Fan-che-man.
(ii) Nṛpatīndravarman-Indraloka, nephew of Puṣkarākṣa.
(iii) Rājendravarman I, nephew and son-in-law of Nṛpatīndravarman.
(iv) Jayavarman IA, son-in-law of Rājendravarman I.
(v) Jyeṣṭhāryā, daughter of Jayavarman IA and inheriting the right invested in her mother Jayendrar..bhā.
(vi) Narendravarman, evidently inheriting the right of his mother described as a *mahiṣī*.
(vii) Rājapativarman, son-in-law of Narendravarman.
(viii) Mahīpativarman, son-in-law of Rājapativarman.
(ix) Rudravarman, son-in-law of Nṛpatīndravarman.
(x) Pṛthivīndravarman, son-in-law of Rudravarman.

Aṅkorian period :

(xi) Jayavarman II, king Puṣkarākṣa being the maternal uncle of the maternal uncle of his mother.
(xii) Indravarman, his mother being born in a family where kings succeeded one another, and himself son-in-law of king Mahīpativarman.
(xiii) Jayavarman IV, husband of Jayadevī, a sister of Yaśovarman.
(xiv) Harṣavarman II who inherited the right of his mother Jayadevī.
(xv) Rājendravarman II who claimed the throne as a scion of the *mātṛvaṃśa* of Bālāditya and Puṣkarākṣa of Aninditapura.

(xvi) Udayādityavarman I, son of the elder sister of the wief of Jayavarman V.

(xvii) Sūryavarman I, descended from Indravarman I in the maternal line and his chief queen Vīralakṣmī from Harṣavarman I and Īśānavarman II in the maternal line.

(xviii) Udayādityavarman II, a co-uterine brother of Vīralakṣmī and thus inheriting a right to the throne through Harṣavarman I and Īśānavarman II, as seen above.

(xix) Harṣavarman III, a natural brother or maternal cousin of Udayādityavarman II.

(xx) Sūryavarman II, a grand-son in the maternal line of Jayavarman VI and Dharaṇīndravarman I.

(xxi) Dharaṇindravarman II— His wife Jayarājacūḍāmaṇi was the daughter of Harṣavarman IV.

(xxii) Śrī Śrīndravarman, son-in-law of Jayavarman VIII.

B. *Possible cases of matrilineal suceession of kings :*

(i) Nṛpāditya, possibly a nephew of Bālāditya and husband of Jayadevī, daughter of Jayavarman I of Tchen-la.

(ii) Śrī Śrīndra-jayavarman, possibly son-in-law of Śrī Śrīndravarman.

III. *Accession to the throne by conquest :*

Mythical period :

(i) Kauṇḍinya/Hiuen-tien.
(ii) Práh Thom.

Fou-nanese period :

(iii) Fan-siun who killed his predecessor and usurped the throne.
(iv) T'ien-chou Tchan-t'an.

Tchen-la :

(v) Bhavavarman I.
(vi) Chitrasena-Mahendravarman.
(vii) Īśānavarman I.

Period of Division of Tchen-la

(viii) Bālāditya.
(ix) Puṣkarākṣa.

Aṅkorian period :

(x) Indravarman.
(xi) Jayavarman IV.
(xii) Udayādityavarman I.
(xiii) Jayavīravarman.
(xiv) Sūryavarman I.
(xv) Udayādityavarman II.
(xvi) Harṣavarman III.
(xvii) Jayavarman VI.
(xviii) Sūryavarman II.
(xix) Dharaṇindravarman II.
(xx) Tribhuvanāditya.
(xxi) Jayavarman VII and
(xxii) Jayavarman IX—Javavarmādi Parameśvara.

IV. *Election of kings :*

Fou-nanese period :

(i) Fan-che-man.

(ii) Kiao-tchen-jou, called a successor of Tchan-t'an.

V. *Succession of kings whose relationship with their predecessors is not known :*

(i) For the mythical period, the immediate successor/successors of Kaundinya/Hiuen-tien.

(ii) Tche-li-ta-pa-mo.

(iii) Cho-ye-pa-mo.

(iv) Guṇavarman.

(v) Bhavavarman II.

(vi) Devānika.

(vii) Śrīndrāditya of Bhavapura.

(viii) Yaśovarman II.

(ix) Harṣavarman IV.

(x) Nippānbát-Mohānippānbàt.

From the above enumeration it will be seen that regarding lineage and/or succession nothing is known of at least ten kings and in two cases there is reference to some popular election of kings. Then there were twenty definite and four probable cases of patrilineal succession of kings as against twenty-two definite and two more probable cases of matrilineal succession. There are also twenty-two kings who held the throne by achieving victory over other contenders and enemies. It will also be seen that the names of three kings viz. Indravarman I, Harṣavarman II and Rājendravarman II appear in both the lists I and II and our study has shown that part or whole of the royal inheritance may be claimed for them by virtue of operation of either principle of succession, patrilineal or matrilineal. Again, there are three more names common to both the lists I and III viz. (i) Īśānavarman I who was the son of king Citrasena-Mahendravarman but who is known to have completed the reduction of Fou-nan ; (ii) Indravarman I, son of Pṛthivīndravarman described as *pṛthivīpati* ; and (iii) Jayavarman VII who was the son of king Dharaṇīndravarman II but from his inscriptions it appears that he owed the throne primarily to his victory over the Cham invaders.

Then there are also nine names common to the lists II and III. These are (i) Bhavavarman I, (ii) his brother Citrasena-Mahendravarman, (iii) Indravarman I, (iv) Jayavarman IV, (v) Udayādityavarman I, (vi) Sūryavarman I, (vii) Udayādityavarman II, (viii) Sūryavarman II and (ix) Dharaṇīndravarman II. We have included the case of suceession to the throne by Indravarman I which was in all likelihood effected by forcible capture of power but was sought to be justified by patrilnieal as much as matrilineal principle of succession. It may thus be stated that while only two cases of capture of power have been sought to be legitimized with an exclusive reference to patrilineal *succession*, there are as many as eight examples where for the same end recourse has been taken to the opposite principle of matrilineal succession. With the addition of the mythical examples of Kauṇḍinya/Hiuen-tien and Práḥ Thoṃ who married Somā/Lieou-ye and another Nāgī princess respectively and thereby inherited the right originally vested in their wives, the number of cases of legitimizing forcible capture of power through female relations will rise to ten.

From what has been stated above, it follows that (i) the claims of three kings can be justified on grounds of both patrilineal and matrilineal succession. (ii) Eleven kings who captured power by extra-constitutional means chose to justify their reigns with reference to patrilineal or matrilineal principle of succession. While just two kings referred to their paternal relations only, nine others elaborated on their relationships in the female line with the earlier rulers. (iii) There were therefore fifteen cases of kings whose succession can be well justified by the patrilineal principle. (iv) There were eleven definite cases of kings whose succession can be justified by the matrilineal principle alone. (v) There were eleven cases of kings who had no other right over the throne than that of the conqueror.

From the above analysis, the conclusion may thus be drawn that till the middle of the 14th century A.D. no principle of succession, patrilineal or matrilineal, may be said to have been generally prevailing over the other so far as the Cambodian throne was concerned. It may be observed further that the attempts of kings to perpetuate their dynastic rule in the male line (e.g Śrīndrāditya-Devāditya-Dharmāditya ; Jayavarman II—Jayavarman III ; Indravarman—Yaśovarman—Harṣavarman I/Īs'ānavarman II ; Jayavarman IV—Harṣavarman II ; Rājendravarman II—Jayavarman V ; Jayavarman VII—Indravarman II) did not succeed for more than two successive generations with the possible exception of the kingdom of Bhavapura. Every time such an effort was thwarted by someone whose claim to the throne passed through female relations (e.g. Indravarman I, Jayavarman IV, Sūryavarman I, Sūryavarman II). From epigraphic evidences as also from the *Mémoires* of Tcheou Tà-kouan it appears that towards the close of the 13th century and early in the 14th century, there was a custom of kings associating their sons-in-law in the administration as *yuvarāja* and finally abdicating the throne in their favour. It would therefore transpire that though the institution of monarchy in ancient Cambodia was essentially of Indian inspiration, in the matter of succession it could not make much headway over the indigenous custom of matrilineal succession. Since no principle of succession for the royalty could establish itself definitively, there was always some scope for manoeuvring by political adventurers. This will explain why there were so many wars of succession in ancient Cambodia affecting immeasurably the social cohesion, economic prosperity and political fortune of the country.

The failure of the typically Indian principle of patrilineal succession over that of its opposite viz. matrilineal succession in the matter of royalty which was acknowledgedly an institution of Indian importation in Cambodia is again indicative of the fact that the extent of Indian cultural influence in Cambodia was not so profound as Indianists would like us to believe. It failed to modify the structure and functioning of the indigenous matrilineal social organization even in respect of the most élite element viz. the royalty.

ABBREVIATIONS

B.E.F.E.O.	*Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-Orient*
I.C.	*Inscriptions du Cambodge*
I.K.	*Inscriptions of Kambuja*
I.S.C.C.	*Inscriptions sanskrites de Campā et du Cambodge*
J.A.	*Journal Asiatique*
N.E.	*Notes d'épigraphie indochinoise*
N.E.N.S.	*Nouvelle étude sur la Nāgī Somā*
S.K.T.	*The Sdok Kak Thoṃ Inscription*

headway over the indigenous custom of matrilineal succession. Since no principle of succession for the royalty could establish itself definitively, there was always some scope for manoeuvring by political adventurers. This will explain why there were so many wars of succession in ancient Cambodia affecting immeasurably the social cohesion, economic prosperity and political fortune of the country.

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Abbreviations :— g.—godhead ; k.—king ; l.—locality ; lit.—literature ; p.—prince/princess ; q.—queen ; r.—river ; t.—text.

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